

Right NOW!

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Modern heroes—

When nobodies
become
somebodies

IRVING HOROWITZ
on sociology
and censorship

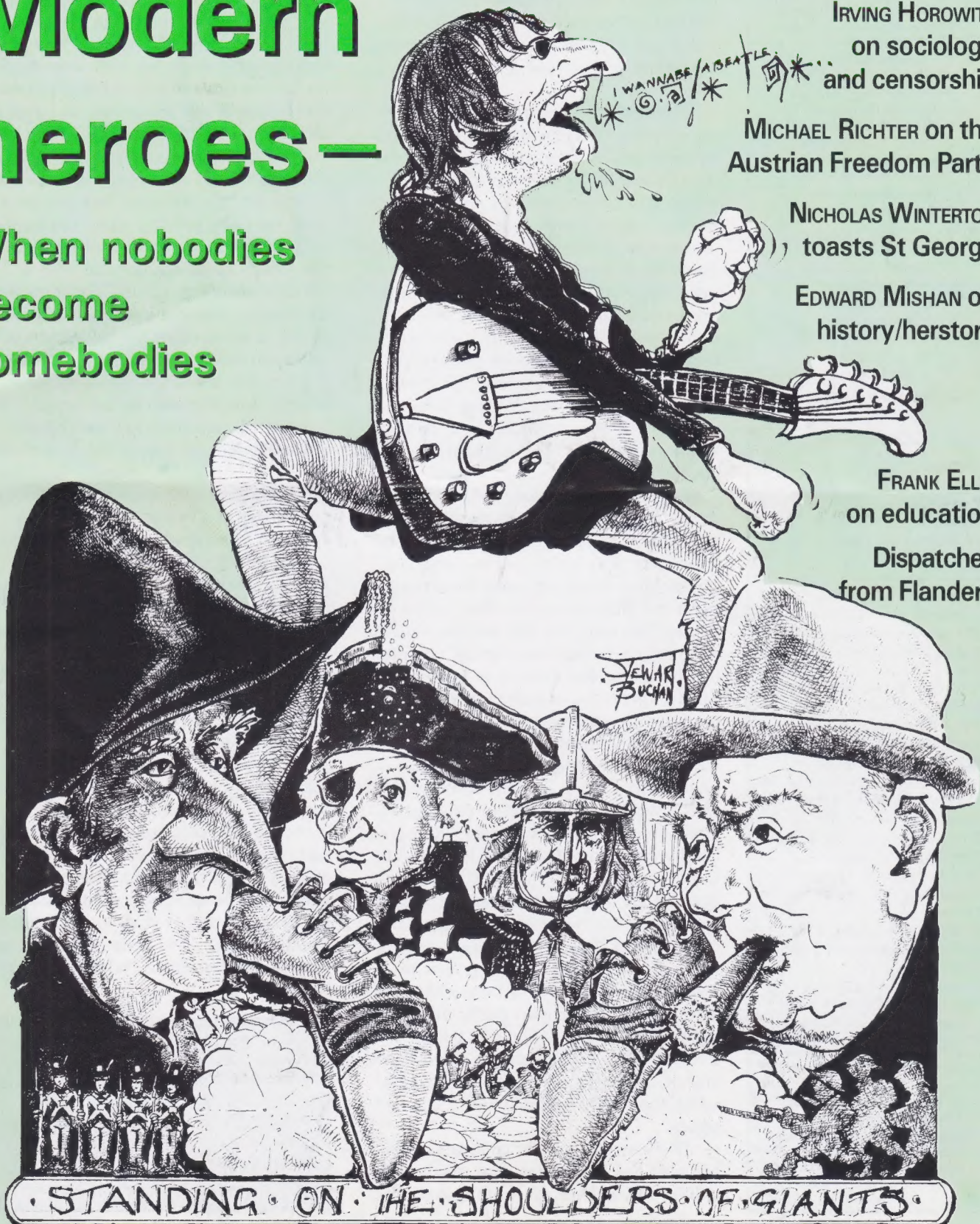
MICHAEL RICHTER on the
Austrian Freedom Party

NICHOLAS WINTERTON
toasts St George

EDWARD MISHAN on
history/herstory

FRANK ELLIS
on education

Dispatches
from Flanders



• STANDING • ON • THE • SHOULDERS • OF • GIANTS •

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CONTENTS

Editorial	2
Yesterday's heroes – Stewart Buchan	3
Interview: Irving Horowitz	4
La Trahison des Clercs – Arthur Deramore	6
A testament of youth – Jessica Weaver and Sam Allen	7
Interview: Michael Richter	8
The teaching establishment is bad for our children – Frank Ellis	10
A toast to St George – Nicholas Winterton	11
The other threat to national identity – Derek Turner	12
Character and the quality of community life – Kevin Lamb	14
The history/herstory debate – Edward Mishan	16
Books	18
Vignettes	21
John Bull	22
Dispatches: From Flanders ...	24
Letters	26
Meetings & Activities	27
A level crossing in east Kent – Peter Gibbs	28

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Sex education, sex education, sex education...

Teenage pregnancy in Britain is at a higher level than in any other EU country. Labour's proposals to counter this trend centre around three main ideas – denying teenage mothers council accommodation, compelling them instead to live in hostels, pursuing the fathers of the children for maintenance payments and providing more sex education.

The first idea has attracted some controversy from the usual professional complainers, with some saying that the hostels will really be prisons, but has attracted at least cautious support from all responsible people. Most observers realise that it is not a good idea for large numbers of people to be entirely reliant upon state welfare, nor for babies to be born into welfare dependency. Having babies you cannot properly care for is a form of cruelty to children. But the Government appears to think of these hostels as permanent entities, whereas they should only be thought of as a temporary measure. The underlying cause needs to be recognised.

The underlying cause (although accidents have always happened and will always happen) is a general lack of moral teaching within our society. The government does not seem to comprehend this glaring fact; on the contrary, Labour has said that the hostels would not provide "moral instruction". Indeed, it ill behoves New Labour to lecture others, given the appalling record of so many of its politically correct local authorities in recent years, such as Islington under Margaret Hodge, so anxious to placate militant homosexuals that it turned a blind eye to paedophile abuse in its children's homes. Of course, ideally governments should not provide moral instruction, but all governmental policies are a form of moralising, insofar as they facilitate or hinder various kinds of behaviour. Responsible governments must do everything in their power to protect what remains of family life. The 19th century American writer Josiah Holland said, "No nation can be destroyed while it possesses a good home life". Conversely, no nation can prosper while the family unit is under sustained attack.

The weakest part of Labour's tripartite plan lies in the idea that this problem will be solved through more sex educa-

tion. As "agony aunt" Vivienne Parry of the *News of the World* said on a recent TV debate, "Sex education is everything!" This appears to be the government's view. Yet there is no evidence that sex education works at all. We now have far more sex education than ever before, yet we also have much more irresponsible sex than ever before. As for the government's plans to broaden and increase sex education, to cover not just the act of coitus but also how we "relate to people", the less any government has to do with *that* the better.

If anything, we need *less* sex education; we need to raise again the banners of good manners, taste and decorum. Sex needs to be surrounded with a certain public mystique. Concentration on the merely physical aspects of the act, which is what more sex education will entail, smacks of voyeurism. It cheapens the act and abolishes romance. How exactly would Britain be better off if we heeded the astonishingly bad advice of Phillip Hodson of the British Association for Counselling, who recently said that we needed "...TV shows that upset the gentility of the nation by discussing subjects like menstruation and masturbation in the slot currently enjoyed by Antiques Roadshow"? Sex education as presently provided has clearly failed. Why throw good money after bad? Besides, any child who does not have a fair (theoretical!) idea about the facts of life by the age of 12 merely by talking to other children probably would not benefit from any education at all.

Harmonious families are idealised microcosms of the nation, with their tacit respect for tradition, orderliness, co-operative spirit, long-sightedness, self-reliance and self-sacrifice. The eclipse of the family that has been caused by deteriorating relations between the sexes is one of our most fundamental social problems – maybe even our most fundamental problem. Who will grasp this nettle? □

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Yesterday's heroes

Stewart Buchan says that these days we think of nobodies as somebodies

Who or what is a hero? This question was posed in an excellent BBC television series presented a year or more ago by Brian Walden. He described the lives of six men (including Alexander, Lincoln and Churchill) and then asked "Were they motivated by a sense of public duty or merely self-seeking?" Of course, the self-seekers did not win Walden's accolade. The question of "Who is a hero?" was well covered within the narrow limits of Walden's six, but that of "What is a hero?" left more to be answered. So what does the word mean? And what is a national hero?

Certainly, the winners of gallantry medals of all kinds displayed heroic qualities that many would have lacked at the moment they were needed. There are, too, people throughout the world who work tirelessly and often unrewarded for their various communities' needs. These people are both courageous and admirable, but a national hero must surely be more. His courage must inspire, and that on a grand scale, inspiring not just his contemporaries but generations to follow.

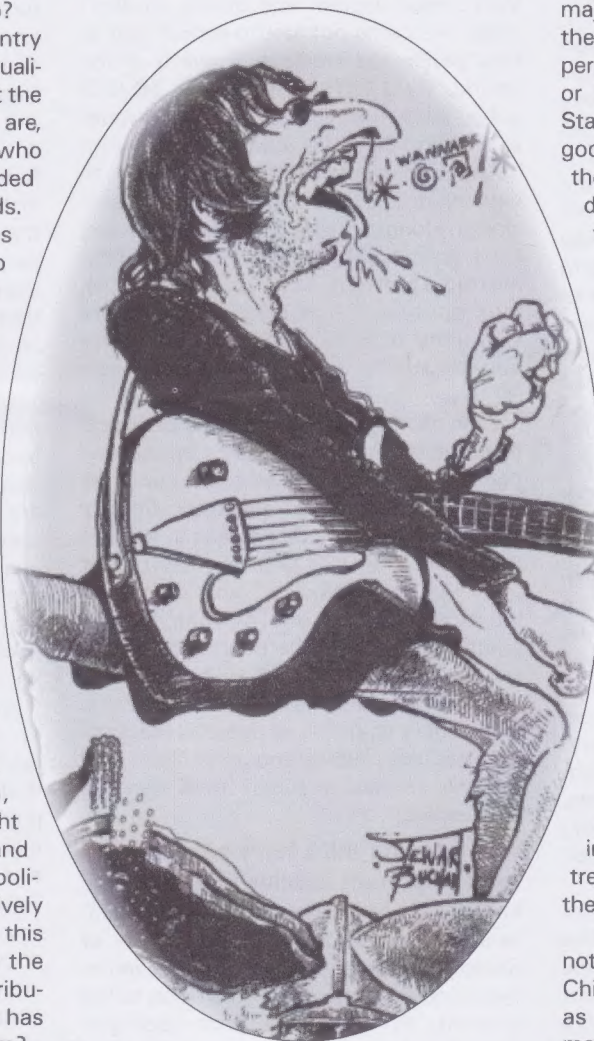
I do not hold an idealised view of the hero. Every man and woman has feet of clay and heroes are not excepted, no matter how great their achievements. Does Michelangelo's physical ugliness and shortness of temper detract anything from the work he left us? I think not. The greatest names from Britain's history will always have their detractors, but I maintain that their deeds transcend the petty mentality of the professional curtain-twitchers. Alfred, Cromwell, Marlborough, Wellington and Churchill all brought victory from troubled times. Men and women in the arts, medicine and politics have all contributed as effectively to the political and social shape of this country. Whatever the nature of the personal indiscretions, their contributions to our lives remain. But what has happened to our awareness of them?

New kinds of "heroes"

Of course the passing of time will always cause celebrity to dim but recent decades have seen another reason for our neglect. I refer to the much-vaunted "Information Revolution" – or, more specifically, the cheap, throw-away aspect of it, the 'red-top' scandal sheets and the sensational magazines and TV. Programmes engage in a bulimic frenzy of gorging and spewing every new name

from the world of entertainment, with the excuse that "spilling the beans" about his or her latest peccadillo is in the public interest. Sadly, the public's interest has not been underestimated. We are creating a generation wide-eyed with the tantrums of a television soap-opera queen, but wide-eyed with incomprehension at the name of John Logie-Baird.

A relatively recent film called *Braveheart*, although unencumbered by historical fact, managed to inform thousands of Scots that a man named William Wallace



had had something to do with their country's independence. Wallace-awareness therefore increased, but only because of a latter-day hero, Mel Gibson, who played Wallace in the film. In fact, so strong is Gibson's personification of Wallace that a recently erected statue of the latter bears not his facial features, but those of Gibson. Incredibly, the people of Scotland are reported to be happy with it.

National heroes are, indeed, still with us. It is only the names and the calibre of their exploits that have changed. In place of Wellington and Waterloo, we have a Gallagher and a punch-up with his brother. Instead of Emmeline Pankhurst and the heady battle for women's suffrage, we have the vacuous "Girl Power" sloganeering of the Spice Girls.

We have replaced men and women of true worth with ephemeral nobodies from the worlds of pop, films and footie. If you think that so to describe the majority of entertainers is a little harsh, then put me to the test. Ask a young person: "Who was Rudolph Valentino?" or "Who were Jack Buchanan or Sir Stanley Matthews?". They were all jolly good at what they did, I am sure, and they were certainly renowned in their day. But where are they now? More to the point, who cares? Today we have Di Caprio, Gallagher and Beckham. And tomorrow?

I am not advocating joy-killing. We all have a capacity for entertainment of one sort or another and we are bound to have our favourite entertainers. However, let us try to keep a sense of balance between the talented and the truly great. The Beatles were genuinely talented writers of clever and cheery pop songs, but were they really to be compared with Schubert, as one music critic in the 1960s assured us they were? Is the image of a film star really the only way to interest today's young Scots in the history of their nation's independence? I would like to think not, but when I read of our museums being turned into touchy-feely entertainment centres in order that people will not pass them by completely, I am not hopeful.

The teaching of our children should not be relegated solely to the classroom. Children learn as much from example as from text-books, in fact probably more, and, quite frankly, the example we set is poor.

Finally, in a recent survey, over 50% of school leavers answered the question "Who won the Second World War?" with "Hitler". It is little wonder that Winston Churchill's position and role as national hero is now occupied by a semi-literate exhibitionist whose own days in the limelight are already numbered. □

Stewart Buchan is an artist

Breaking the boundaries of ideology

Derek Turner interviews leading American sociologist and publisher Irving Louis Horowitz

Irving Louis Horowitz is probably best-known to British readers as the founder of Transaction Press – an academic publishing house remarkable for its intellectual fearlessness. Transaction has published a number of influential works which others have found 'too hot to handle', including the latest work by British educationist Ray Honeyford.

Why did you start your journal *Society*?

We started *Society* at Washington University, St Louis, in 1962. Several colleagues and I at the sociology department believed it was a propitious time to revive an old tradition of speaking to larger publics – something that had largely fallen by the wayside with the growing technification of the field. With the exception of figures like David Riesman, C Wright Mills, and William H Whyte, the general purposes of social science as a source of enlightening and sensitizing had fallen by the wayside. The University had been given a large grant from the Ford Foundation, and didn't know what to do with the money!

We proposed to use this grant in three ways – making an educational film, bringing the best professors into the worst areas of St Louis to teach hard-core youths and developing a magazine for the business community. The net result was a movie for television called *The Hard Way*, which was probably the worst documentary film in American history! We then gathered some of the very best professors together to go into the ghettos and educate the young. They immediately subcontracted the work to teaching assistants, who had no idea what they were being asked to achieve. Within a month of their going in we had a near race riot!

So we concentrated on starting a popular magazine for those interested in the opinions and findings of social scientists. We were going to call it *Interaction*, but then found out that the Methodists had a publication of that name, so it became *Transaction* and, later, *Society*. The word *Transaction* became the umbrella name for our expanding area of activities.

The first issue, indeed the first volume, was a bit pedestrian – especially in format. However, we persevered, beginning to focus on the growing social science community itself instead of businessmen, clergymen and assorted potential users of social science. There were three social phenomena operating in our favour in the early 1960s – the divisive war in Vietnam,

a general radicalisation of student and academic life and the beginnings of racial unrest, to the point of guerilla ghetto insurgency in many major cities of America, from Los Angeles to Newark. These three interlocked elements defined the decade, and hence framed our mission at *Transaction-Society*. We had a keen sense of these developments and began to interpret the social science perspective first to ourselves and then to the wider world. We became what has since come to be called a "mediating publication".

We received notices very quickly in the major media, such as *Newsweek*, *Time*, the *Wall Street Journal* and others. In short order, we came not just to reflect, but to help define the intellectual milieu of the period. By 1967 we had over 50,000 subscribers – a highpoint that we never exceeded. But this visibility led senior authorities at Washington University to express doubts about housing the magazine any longer. Taking *Transaction* private, thus limiting the University's liability, averted a problem. Then we got a marvelous opportunity at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, and we have been located here ever since, now for over 30 years.

We changed the name of the periodical from *Transaction* to *Society*. *Transaction* became an umbrella name for our book publishing and journal consortia. *Society* has become widely recognised in its own right. Even the UK's *Guardian* newspaper uses the word 'Society' and an almost identical logo for one of their regular supplements. With the decline of 1960s radicalism, *Society* tried to become the voice of rational American social science, by avoiding as much as possible ideological posturing, words ending in "ism" and all other clichés. In this, I think we have succeeded.

What do you think have been the most important articles in *Society*?

In 1997, in celebration of our 35th anniversary, we produced a special issue of *Society*. It contains the best representative sample from our first volume on to the present. In 1963, the anthropologist Oscar Lewis wrote a major article called "The Culture of Poverty", which was reprinted in our 35th anniversary edition. Rightly or wrongly, it identified a new way of looking at the poor, suggesting that there was a culture of poverty that was universal and not confined to any one social group. In many ways, Oscar's piece helped set the tone for the magazine: a theoretical breakthrough delivered in good English prose by an anthropologist.

Another very important article was written by Lee Rainwater on the "benign

neglect" theme, whether it the best way of handling the issue of race. This gave a forum to Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who at that time was under attack by black radicals for speaking out about the breakdown of the black family. Everyone of substance within the African-American community now accepts that the black family is in trouble. But at that time, radical forces, black and white, were in a state of denial. Articles like these proved early on that we were not going to be party to the ideological claptrap all too characteristic of American sociology.

Perhaps in the same class of breakthrough articles was my piece on "The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot", a carefully documented piece not unlike the efforts of Daniel Ellsberg, on US foreign policy and the role of both civilian and military advisers. This article and the one by Lee Rainwater later became Massachusetts Institute of Technology books. This opened the flood gates to articles on all sorts of issues in which the social sciences were making policy pronouncements – peacetime conscription, prison reform and child abuse are three of the more important areas that spring to mind.

The more *Society* probed into the mindset of its audience the clearer it became that economics and psychology seemed to interest Americans most. We are not a particularly political nation, except on election days and weeks. Americans are not particularly ideological – they are just good people who believe in the centrality of private life. Psychological questions of marriage, divorce, lifestyle, happiness and pleasure prevail. America's culture is a highly utilitarian one and very conservative on economic issues. Our gradual shift in emphasis is a reflection of that preëminence of the private over the public. *Society* has never been big on foreign affairs – except on questions of war and militarisation, in which the interests of Americans are directly involved: we don't want to get out too far ahead of our audience, which is a policy-making rather than an ideology-making audience. There are nearly one million elected representatives in the United States. *Society* is social science agenda setting without posturing or posing.

Who are the greatest living sociologists?

There are few living great figures in the field. Of those still alive, Robert Merton is the most distinguished figure in the sociology of science, while David Riesman is the finest social psychologist of American manners and mores produced since Veblen. The present generation is better trained, but not, in my view, generally as brilliant nor as courageous. One of our tasks is to

encourage the younger generation to be forthright and speak their piece without fear. You ran an article on recently deceased US psychologist Raymond Cattell [Editor's note: See *RN* 21], so you know what's going on in psychology. Multiply that tenfold and you have an idea of what's going on in sociology.

Sociology will probably have to skip the present generation of its teachers as leaders, and encourage younger people to put themselves forward. We have an odd situation: a brilliant group now in their 70s and 80s passed away; a less talented group with some bright people who are, however, so ideologically committed that they can no longer provide professional leadership; and a new generation of people who need to be encouraged to break with the taboos of political orthodoxy. Transaction is a major source of help for young scholars and courageous sociologists. Our budget is considerably larger than that of, say, the American Sociological Association, so we are not going into this struggle unarmed. I think the views expressed in *Society* and in Transaction books are shared by 90% of the professional people. The problem is that the remaining 10% are loud, dogmatic and unafraid. We live in a complicated intellectual climate rather like that which exists in the United Kingdom. The difference is that the American social structure is so massified that the possibilities for intellectual renewal and decadence alike are greater. This struggle within the social sciences, is no simple tribal matter. Its outcome impacts the entire culture – from style in dress to substance in pedagogy.

Do you deliberately ignore Continental thinkers?

There is no deliberate effort to exclude non-English speaking scholars. In the book area, Transaction has a wide array of European social scientists in its list of publications. But in truth, we pay little attention to them in *Society* – not as a result of policy so much as the special conditions that obtain within the Anglo-American academic environment. The sociologists writing in *Society* are mainly those in the Anglo-American tradition. What is the point, for example, in carrying articles about French deconstructionists? Deconstructionism is another variety of fundamentalism. It is only superficially a secular response to meaning. The deconstruction of words and texts is really a disguised form of reconstruction in terms of ideological meanings. It is not entirely unlike the logical positivist analysis of language or sentence structure of previous generations, an attempt to deny that there is an ethical or scientific basis to human judgment. Much of European cultural criticism is a head-on assault against the worth of scientific evidence and, with increasing frequency, against the scientists themselves. If this becomes normative, if it is generally accepted that there is no objective or scientific basis to life, then it is open sesame for anarchy. If *Society* carries articles on Antonio Gramsci

and Walter Benjamin then we will become hostages to an intellectual past that is not especially friendly to social science. Why do what the cultural radicals wish upon us? *Society* has made a point in article after article, review after review, to deal critically with subjectivism, irrationalism, ideology, and interest group thinking in the social sciences. So in that special sense, we do tend to avoid the current continental leaders.



Society magazine

But we do take an interest in the European situation. Every issue of *Society* carries a special feature on Society Abroad, and we have carried articles and observations on just about every nation in Europe, but from the vantage point of social research and solid ethnography – not to promote causes or movements. In every European country there are very good social scientists, journalists and others who have upheld the honour of Western culture.

What are your reflections on the Clinton/Lewinsky affair?

This is clearly directed at myself as a private person, but not at Transaction or *Society* proper, but I shall gladly give you my take on it. The American public did not want Clinton to be impeached because it would have discredited and therefore weakened the presidential system of which Americans are fond. It would mark a step toward the President as a Premier, rather than an individual directly put in office by a constituency. I do not think his continuation in office represents a personal victory for Clinton, neither his morals nor his party's strength. Americans do not like his morals, but they fear even more the consequences of economic and political instability. At a time when wages are up and unemployment is down, even some of the 35-40% of the American voters who genuinely dislike Clinton thought that impeachment was a step too far and too harsh. In this, the American people have spoken with wisdom.

A special element in the Clinton scandal that few wish to examine is the

changing psychology of Americans. We live in an epoch where the rate of divorce has reached pandemic proportions, and in which marital infidelity has become something of a norm. Others still must do battle with ever-expanding claims, sometimes right, sometimes wrong, of sexual harassment. In such a muddled climate, in which private mores are made part of the public record, and in which confidentiality has broken down to a greater extent than ever before, the American public was reticent to do more than chastise its President and Commander-in-Chief.

The Republicans pushed the Monica Lewinsky and Paula Jones stories too far. The scandals were actually at the level of leadership capability and culpability, not who shall rule the American nation-state. However, in the longer term, Clinton has created some fissures that are not easily repaired – such as the racial fissure. When you tell people that Clinton has a very high approval rating among African-Americans, that sends a certain shock wave through white America. Once you start stratifying the nation and make appeals to one gender or racial segment against another segment, as Clinton has done and is doing, I think you have a serious crisis. At the very least, the citizenry is divided in its voting preferences, and beyond that a general aura of animus is accentuated rather than relieved. But what the public response to the Clinton affair has proven is that America is not about to disappear, even if there is fraying at the edges. Immigration has also now become a contentious issue. The character of struggle in the 1960s was rather simple compared to the cross-cutting interests and fissures that characterise the late 1990s. It is our task to report such changes. □

Irving Louis Horowitz

Born New York City, 1929. Married, two sons. Educational distinctions and appointments (partial list): BSS, City College of New York, 1951, MA, Columbia U, 1952, PhD, Buenos Aires, 1957.

Many appointments at many US and foreign universities, including Brandeis, Buenos Aires, Washington, Rutgers, Caracas, Syracuse, Rochester, California, Madison, Stanford, Princeton, Miami, London School of Economics. Presently Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science, Rutgers. Many professional memberships, including as board director of the National Association of Scholars Publications (partial list):

Ideas of War and Peace in Contemporary Philosophy, 1957; *Radicalism and the Revolt Against Reason: the Social Theories of Geroge Sorel*, 2nd edition, 1968; *The War Game: Studies of the New Civilian Militarists*, 1963; *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot*, 1967, revised 1976; *Sociological Self-Images*, 1969; *Cuban Communism*, 1970, 7th edition 1990; *Foundations of Political Sociology*, 1972; *Ideology and Utopia in the United States*, 1977; *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power*, 1979; *Beyond Empire and Revolution*, 1982; *Communication Ideas*, 1987; *The Decomposition of Sociology*, 1993.

(Source: *Who's Who in America*)

La Trahison des Clercs

Arthur Deramore says there is a remarkable lack of commonsense in our politics

"Defend me, therefore, common sense, say I from reveries so airy, from the toil of dropping buckets into empty wells and growing old in drawing nothing up."

William Cowper (1785)

Some wag once defined an intellectual as a person educated above the level of his intelligence, which is another way of saying he lacks common sense. Considering the political scene in mid-1999 one may be tempted to ask, "What has happened to common sense?" Nowhere in the United Kingdom has its lack been more evident than with regard to the European Union.

In May 1977 the electorate in Britain, disgusted by the performance of John Major's government, returned Tony Blair's 'New Labour' with a massive majority, but with the support of only 43% of the voters. On the strength of that majority the Government set in progress a policy of radical reform of the constitution. Claiming to be the 'People's Government', Blair and his Ministers have made great play with such themes as 'The People's Princess', 'Cool Britannia', the 'Third Way' and the 'Stakeholder Society', as signposts on the road to modernising Britain.

Septuagenarians will remember that in November 1933 another European country elected – with 93% of the votes – a party that also claimed to be the government of 'The People': "Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer". Hitler's car for the German nation was called the 'People's Car' – Volkswagen. The Nazis replaced democracy with totalitarian dictatorship. Tony Blair and his Cabinet have replaced democracy with autocracy and consistently by-passed Parliament to achieve their aims, as Lord Beloff noted in a recent *Times* article. The degree by which Britain's constitution has been perverted by this Government threatens the very existence of the British nation.

The Government benches in the House of Commons are occupied by men and women of whom a majority have had no experience of a world beyond politics or publicly funded organisations. Some are journalists, others actors and actresses, media 'personalities' and lawyers, who are accustomed to pontificate, and pride themselves on their intellectual pretensions. Thirty years ago the American politician Spiro T Agnew said, "A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete core of impudent snobs, who characterise themselves as intellectuals." These words seem very apt in the context of Britain today.

A characteristic of 'Blairism' is to 'move the process (of reform) forward', as though

it were a crime to stop and think before stepping into the unknown. Already chickens are coming home to roost. The Good Friday agreement in Northern Ireland has yet to achieve the end of terrorism and devolution in Wales and Scotland has opened cans of worms in both cases, as well as inflaming opinion for an English Parliament.

The referenda responsible for these troubles were deeply flawed. Common sense would have suggested that the largest group in the United Kingdom should be given some say in the break-up of the Union, but over three-quarters of the United Kingdom electorate were not included. (The 1995 census figures for the population of the UK were: Scotland – 5,137,000; Wales – 2,917,000; Northern Ireland – 1,649,000 and England – 48,903,000.) The consequences of this ill-considered measure will cost the taxpayer dearly: two new assembly buildings will be built, the number of MPs salaries and expenses increased and large numbers of bureaucrats employed to service these bodies.

The covert objective behind the devolution process is to facilitate the absorption of Britain into a federal European super-state, by creating three of the EU regions. Another nine regions in England were established on April 1st this year without a Parliamentary debate and with the minimum of publicity. Ever since Edward Heath signed Britain up as a member of the European Economic Community and concealed from the British people that it was the first step towards political union, Conservative and Labour Governments have contrived to keep the facts from public scrutiny.

GRANDIOSE IDEAS

It was in 1975 that the historian EP Thompson wrote in the *Sunday Times*, "This going into Europe will not turn out to be the thrilling mutual exchange supposed. It is more like nine middle-aged couples with failing marriages meeting in a darkened room in a Brussels hotel for a Group Grope." In retrospect it is difficult to understand how the intellectuals who conceived the idea of a European super-state could have been so lacking in common sense as not to realise the impracticability of their grandiose ideas. General De Gaulle, however, realised that the European Economic Community should be 'L'Europe des Nations' and ironically it was he who saw that the British were an island race trading around the world, with the Commonwealth as their primary trading partner, and who should stay out of the EEC.

Europhiles suffer from the delusion that Britain must be 'at the heart of Europe' and influence the European Union to change

its ways and become a democracy in the mould of our own. The EU is fundamentally the conception of statists and is inherently undemocratic. The Eurofanatics have sought to divert attention from this fact by comparing it to the United States of America, whereas it is closer in concept to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, now in ruins. Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as, 'Government of the people, by the people, for the people'. The EU, as it has become, aims to govern the people, but it is unqualified to meet the other two conditions.

There are 659 MPs in our House of Commons, each, on average, representing 67,000 voters. There are 626 MEPs in the European Parliament, representing, on average, 592,000 individuals. Is it not clear that any contacts between MEPs and constituents are severely limited? It is little wonder that the turnout in the European Parliamentary elections is so abysmal. In reality the European Parliament exerts little influence over European Union policy. It has to compete for authority with the Commission, Council of Ministers and national governments. To overcome the democratic deficit a complete overhaul of the EU's institutional structure would be required and this is unlikely in view of Signor Prodi's recent pronouncements. The rampant fraud, corruption and waste in the Commission's performance has been exposed and Santer's Commissioners shamed into resignation, but it is likely that some will be reinstated, and the appointment of Prodi as President is not reassuring.

Common sense requires Britain to cease supping with the Devil and throw away the long spoon, but politicians of all parties seem blinded by the romantic vision of 1950s intellectuals and continue to bleat about being at the 'Heart of Europe' and influencing the EU to reform itself. While William Hague's Conservative Party has adopted a Euro-sceptic position, it still believes in reform from within. Blair, Brown and the Labour Party have decided to submerge Britain into an integrated European state by hook or by crook. The sale of half of Britain's gold reserves and the proposal to put 40% of the proceeds into the Euro currency is one further step on the road to integration.

Blair has pledged there will be a referendum before Britain joins the Economic and Monetary Union but, significantly, has rejected Lord Nolan's recommendation that equal finance should be available to both sides. Already the European Movement, HM Government, the BBC, the TUC, CBI and the Action Centre for Europe are actively proselytising for EMU.

In 1939 Britain was rudely awakened to political reality. As the Millennium nears, will we wake up before it is too late? □

Lord Deramore writes from Pickering, Yorkshire

A testament of youth

Jessica Weaver and Sam Allen, both 17, demonstrate that Leftist indoctrination is not wholly unchallenged in schools

What makes us "Rightwing"? We were recently asked this and, to begin with, we were a bit stuck about how to reply. The simple answer, "commonsense", does not seem to suffice.

One important reason is that free trade brings many benefits to the populace as a whole. Another reason is that, having been lucky enough ourselves to have been brought up in stable family environments, we are supportive of pro-family policies, like child benefits – although instead of giving benefits with one hand, and taking taxes with the other, there should be tax credits for each child taken off whatever rate of income tax that parents are paying. This system could also be adapted to take into account other factors, such as marital status, and would be a considerable incentive for families to stay together.

But the single biggest issue is Europe. Tony Blair's speech in Aachen in May to the panel of the Charlemagne Prize for "contributions to Europe" shows a frighteningly sharp lurch towards Europe. Blair asserts that he is a "patriot" who loves his country, but he is willing to submerge Britain's fiscal and monetary system in a system that would damage, or even wipe out, Britain's independence and control over our own finances. Although the new Conservative manifesto is much tougher on the EU, Hague's "mix and match" approach to European legislation, illustrated by his recent lecture in Budapest, where he called for an EU in which countries could "opt-in" to legislation that they choose, is still too vague. Either we are in or out.

If our peer group can be persuaded to vote in the forthcoming referendum, then the possibility of a single currency is less

likely; a poll recently conducted by the *Daily Telegraph* showed that young Britons were more patriotic than ever.

Defence cuts

We are also concerned about defence. Our armed forces have been cut so much that we are now incapable of deploying a substantial force for any period of time. There is a brigade in Bosnia, two in NATO's Rapid Reaction Corps in Germany and commitments in Northern Ireland, Saudi Arabia, Kenya, Kosovo and the Falkland Islands. Blair has signed a much publicised treaty with the French government on co-operation between the two countries' armed forces, but quietly cancelled the Anglo-French-Italian Horizon anti-aircraft frigate programme. He was also disappointed that BAe chose to merge with GEC-Marconi, rather than a firm from one of our European cousins. Perhaps Blair would rather we were forced to rely even further on the EU for military hardware?

Missed opportunities in education

Although the Thatcher years saw a valiant and successful attack on the Leftwing consensus in the civil service and local government, the most important area of all was left virtually untouched. The UK educational system is dominated by *Guardian*-reading, Leftwing intellectuals. Although they may not consciously force their views onto their students, of course they will rub off on their students. The very fact that teaching posts (except those in public schools) are only advertised in the *Times Educational Supplement* and the *Guardian* means that any sort of attempt to redress this balance is almost entirely futile.

The 1988 Education Act was intended

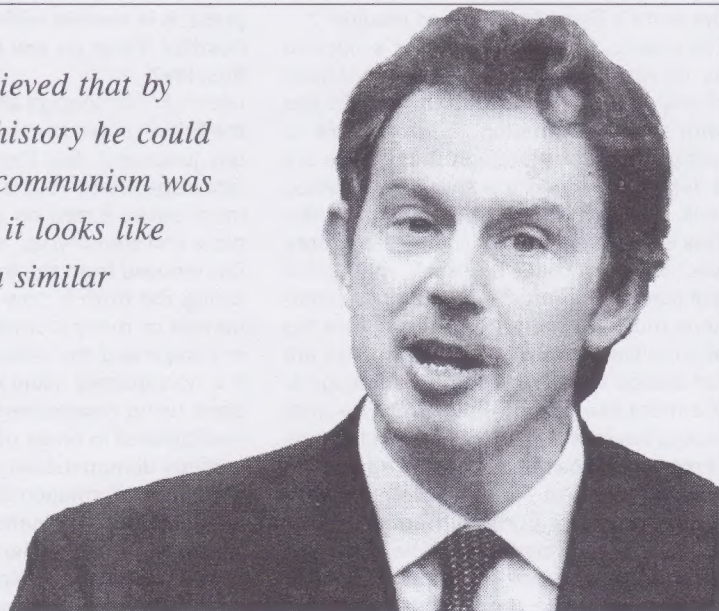
to offer greater opportunity to all, because everyone sat the same exam. While the GCSE system went a long way towards doing this, it was not without problems; for example, the 'Double Award' in science leaves many students with an A or B grade, but only a smattering of general knowledge. The jump from GCSE to A-Level is therefore far too great for many students who do not have any of the basic skills or disciplines of the subject. English, too, is often criticised; A+s in English are often awarded to students who do not know the rudiments of spelling and grammar. (Our own A+s are proof of this!) The first term of English A-Level, in both Literature and Language, is all about syntax, which was taught to our parents' generation well before they sat their 11+.

Baroness Blackstone recently admitted that more money would be poured into sixth form to help those who did not yet have a basic grasp of English or maths. Surely it is better (and cheaper) to target the problem at primary level instead of letting people get to A-Level without being able to spell. The only sensible thing, it seems, is an improved elementary system, where a National Curriculum can be employed, and then a selection process from the age of 14. The three core subjects would have to be taken (with a choice of two sciences), and then choice would follow from there. Such tests would truly reflect the ability of students.

Rather than being scrapped, as some have suggested, the National Curriculum needs to be tightened up. The encouragement of "teachers' professional judgement" is bound to be detrimental to children's education, like the scrapping of science GCSEs. Not only is science to be dispensed with, but reducing the amount of history taught is also on the cards. Stalin believed that by 'altering' history he could show that communism was inevitable; it looks like Blair has a similar idea. Many children will no longer be able to make up their own minds about history; many of us are already taught that the essence of Britain's history is stamping on weaker peoples, from the Indians to the Irish. One wonders what else is going to be cut out – perhaps the Armada or the Magna Carta? Perhaps Lord North will be praised instead of reviled for losing the American colonies! While the National Curriculum does have its faults, it can be easily fixed – and Britain desperately needs a unifying educational force during this period of danger and division. □

Jessica Weaver and Sam Allen are sixth-form students in a Cambridgeshire school

"Stalin believed that by 'altering' history he could show that communism was inevitable; it looks like Blair has a similar idea."



Viennese whirl

Derek Turner interviews Michael Richter, editor of the Austrian Freedom Party's *Neue Freie Zeitung* newspaper

What is your professional and political background?

I was born in Vienna in 1965. My parents were Social Democrats. I was trained as an electrical engineer but later I took up Political Science at the University of Vienna. I have been a journalist for the past 15 years. In 1989 I joined the editorial staff of *Neue Freie Zeitung*, the official party paper of the Austrian Freedom Party⁽¹⁾, where I have been Editor-in-Chief since 1994.

Why did you join the Freedom Party? How does it differ from the other Austrian political parties?

In glaring contradistinction to the 13 year-long coalition government of the Social Democrats and the People's Party⁽²⁾, since 1986 the Freedom Party, under the leadership of Jorg Haider, has been promoting a simple and absolutely necessary reform programme under the slogan "Austria First". Haider is determined to devote the Freedom Party exclusively to the interests of our country and its people. The Social Democrats and the People's Party, on the other hand, regard Austria as an hereditary fiefdom, over which they think they can rule in a more or less absolutist fashion. Such a practice can only ultimately lead to the demise of Austria.

Moreover, their policies – to put it mildly – are highly detrimental to democracy, being characterised by manipulation, more often than not of a dishonest nature. I am convinced that in a really democratic system every citizen must take upon himself personal responsibility. I regard the Freedom Party under Jorg Haider as the only truly viable alternative to the establishment parties, always providing – of course – that it remains faithful to its credo and preserves its credibility.

What is so significant about Herr Haider's recent election as Governor of Carinthia⁽³⁾?

Besides Haider's personal triumph of having been re-elected, there are two important factors: first, the party – having been represented in all nine provincial governments in the past – must now prove the quality of its political programme in running the provincial government of Carinthia (which, incidentally, was under British occupation after World War II). Haider is no longer just Leader of the Opposition. This means that the party as a whole must now take on more of the responsibilities which Haider carried alone in the past, and that it must respond more effectively to the demands of the voters. If Haider and the party succeed in meeting both these

Right: Michael Richter, editor of *Neue Freie Zeitung* newspaper.

Below right: Interviewing Jorg Haider, leader of the Austrian Freedom Party.



challenges, there will be huge opportunities for the further success of our policies. If they fail, however, it could be the end of Haider's great experiment.

What are the lessons to be learnt from the Party's European election results⁽⁴⁾?

The results, shortly after Haider's election as Governor of Carinthia, demonstrate clearly that the party has to learn to live with the new situation. It was unable to recognise quickly enough that things are different now, and the two ruling parties took strategic advantage of this mistake. This is why the forthcoming parliamentary elections, as Haider has said, will be the real test for the Party⁽⁵⁾. The European elections must, of course, be viewed as a big picture: Gerhard Schroder or Tony Blair are not Europe's great reformers or harbingers, but more like its grave-diggers. The total lack of interest in the elections on the part of most European people is caused by their rejection of the fundamentally flawed concept of the European Union, from Maastricht to Amsterdam. The European Union is full of undemocratic structures. In the long run these shortcomings threaten

to make impossible the stated aims of the Union: instead of continent-wide stability, dangerous destabilisation is likely.

On the rare occasions that the Party is mentioned in Britain's somewhat insular press, it is treated with considerable hostility. What do you think causes this hostility?

I don't know enough about the attitude of the British press towards the Party to pass any judgment. But the fact is that media reportage about Haider and the party is in most cases based on a number of prejudices and stereotypes, all of which are very far removed from the truth. Unfortunately, telling the truth is now regarded as unimportant by many journalists and politicians in Europe and the United States, whether it is newspapers using politicians or politicians using newspapers. The truth is also manipulated in times of war, as was most recently demonstrated in Kosovo – a great deal of misinformation was circulated about the one-sided application of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the true nature of Slobodan Milosevic's regime, the explanations for the use of stealth bomb-

ers and Tomahawk rockets. John Wayne was the last true American hero – the real controllers of what passes for the “truth” these days, sadly, are people like Bill Gates and Steven Spielberg.

Is the Austrian media so biased? What are the best – and worst – journals?

There is no such thing as a free press in Austria. In that respect it is really a developing country, with the media controlled by foreign corporations. The owners of genuinely Austrian media are more or less attached to the Social Democrats or the People's Party, or else they are being manipulated through a politically motivated financial support system, administered by the federal government. Although the European Human Rights Court has condemned the existing TV monopoly of the government, there are still no private TV stations in Austria. That the Freedom Party is the major victim of the existing media situation is explained by its role as the only political force challenging the existing power structure. Those who benefit from the current system are naturally opposed to any change of the status quo. The only exception is the largest Austrian daily newspaper, *Neue Kronen Zeitung*. Next to the ruling parties and the Freedom Party, it constitutes the fourth political power-house in Austria.

Is the Party linked to any other political parties?

No – and this is how it should be. The Party quit the Liberal International a few years ago, a step it should have taken much earlier. There is a sister party in South Tyrol, but Haider's goal is not to win the support of other political parties, but rather the support of the voters. Haider's success does not come from partisan etiquette or ideology, but from a clear understanding of the real needs of the people. This means that any democratic reform policy is not about “Right or Left” but about “right or wrong”. This is true not only in Austria, but in Europe as a whole. □

Footnotes:

(1) Jorg Haider took over as leader of the small Austrian Freedom Party (Freiheitspartei Österreichs, or FPO) in 1986, when it attracted about 250,000 votes. It now has over 1,000,000 voters (there are 8,059,000 people in Austria). The FPO's main policies are set out in their 1995 “Contract with Austria” (<http://www.fpoe.or.at/englisch/Contract.html>). They include limiting public spending, strengthening and increasing the number of referenda held, weakening the stranglehold of Austria's professional and political organisations, permitting private television and radio stations, tax reforms to assist poorer families, tougher penalties for crime, limiting immigration, renegotiating Austria's budget contribution to the EU and protecting the environment while helping farmers.

(2) Austria has a two chamber parliamentary system, the *Nationalrat* (National Council), with

183 members and the *Bundesrat* (Federal Council), with 64 members, under a President, who is elected every six years and a Chancellor. *Nationalrat* members are elected directly every four years by PR, while *Bundesrat* members are elected from provincial parliaments every five or six years. The political parties' respective present strengths in Parliament are as follows: Social Democrat Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs*, or SPÖ): 38.1% of the vote, 71 *Nationalrat* members, 24 *Bundesrat* members; Austrian People's Party (*Österreichische Volkspartei*, or ÖVP): 28.3% of the vote, 52 *Nationalrat* members, 26 *Bundesrat* members; Freedom Party: 21.9% of the vote, 42 *Nationalrat* members, 14 *Bundesrat* members; Liberal Forum (*Liberales Forum*, or LiF): 5.5% of the vote, 9 *Nationalrat* members, no *Bundesrat* members) and the Green Party (*Die Grüne*): 4.8% of the vote, 9 *Nationalrat* members, no *Bundesrat* members). The Government is an ÖVP/SPÖ coalition, with an ÖVP President and an SPÖ Chancellor.

(3) In March 1999, Haider obtained 42% of the vote in Carinthia, one of Austria's nine federal provinces, and became its governor. Each province elects its own provincial assembly (*Landtag*), which in turn elects the provincial government (*Landesregierung*) and the governor (*Landeshauptmann*). The population of Carinthia was 541,900 in 1987, and its capital city is Klagenfurt.

(4) The FPO lost one of its MEPs, and now has five.

(5) The next national elections are due at the end of 1999.

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The teaching establishment is bad for our schoolchildren

Frank Ellis calls for an assault on education's vested interests

It is 1999, yet it seems as if 1979 was only yesterday, for a vast and largely unaccountable bureaucracy still wields enormous power over the destinies of our schoolchildren. Wilfully blind to the failures of "progressive" education, teachers' training colleges and educational theorists continue to churn out the latest fads dressed in scientoid jargon. In this unholy task, they are aided and abetted by far too many teachers and lecturers in colleges of further education and universities, the majority of whom are members of the other powerful educationally-related bureaucracy, the teachers' unions. In the longevity of these vested interests and their ability to resist change there is an eerie reminder of the Soviet Communist Party.

Education was a failure of the Thatcher and Major governments. To be fair, there were more pressing items on the agenda: winning the Cold War; taming the unions; privatisation; and winning the Falklands and Gulf Wars. The trouble is that political victories are not the same thing as cultural victories. As Justice Robert Bork points out in *Slouching Towards Gomorrah: Modern Liberalism and American Decline*: "Even when conservative political leaders have the votes, liberal cultural leaders operate and exercise influence where votes do not count. However many political victories conservatives may produce, they cannot attack modern liberalism in its fortresses." Or perhaps one might say that they can, but that it is not easy. No matter, education is one such left-liberal fortress whose walls *do* have to be knocked down if our cultural degeneration is to be arrested and reversed.

"Establishment", as in "teaching establishment", is misleading. Establishment suggests respect for tradition and a certain scepticism towards change, the belief that teachers are the custodians of history, the defenders of cultural achievement. Yet one will struggle to find these attitudes among many of today's teachers. On the contrary, the teaching/education establishment, with its unions and gurus and "relevant research", is solidly a creature of the Left. This establishment delights in mocking and vilifying anything which might in any way be linked with, or be supportive of the UK and the West generally. The "teaching" establishment is radical and nihilistic, unless its pay and conditions are threatened.

"Resources" is a much-loved word among the various groups that comprise the teaching establishment. Decoded, this means money and more of it. There is

assumed to be a direct and demonstrable relationship between spending large sums of public money and the quality of education provided. Wherever this fallacy is cited, it should be exposed and attacked relentlessly. More money can be translated into more equipment, computers, books (will they be read?), classrooms and pay for teachers, but that alone is no guarantee that children will achieve satisfactory standards in literacy and numeracy by the time they complete secondary education.

A school which acquires computers and so on, but tolerates anarchy in the classroom and adopts what in teacher-training speak is referred to as a "non-judgemental" attitude towards academic standards and setting homework – which, in plain English, sanctions failure – is never going to teach children to read and write, however much public money is wasted. The teaching establishment's obsessive and fallacious belief that throwing money at a problem



will cure it is something that conservatives should find paradoxical. They are routinely attacked for putting capital before people, yet it is conservatives who realise the limitations of money in saving schools.

Money can only go so far. What counts is the ethos of the school: high expectations, discipline, an orderly teaching environment and, above all, teachers who believe in these things. The near permanent whine about money emitted by the teaching unions is intended to divert attention from fundamental failures in these areas.

Identifying the source of our woes is the easy bit. Solutions are much harder to find. In fact, the problem may well be insurmountable and the best that can be hoped for is some form of damage control, which in time might lead to improvement. The insurmountable nature of the problem, as I see it, concerns parents, particularly in their capacity as voters.

Failing schools are, overwhelmingly, to be found in Labour-controlled areas. This is nothing new. The remorseless decline of sound education in these fiefdoms, amid ever-increasing spending, has been well documented. No amount of evasive bluster can hide the scale of educational failure. The secret is well and truly out. But the question here is why, when so much

about the grotesque incompetence of Labour-controlled education is in the public domain, do these councils remain solidly Labour?

The answer is, I think, that significant numbers of parents are largely indifferent to the educational achievements or failures of their children and, likewise, are indifferent to revelations of teacher incompetence. Education is not an issue they worry about. Teachers are just state-sponsored child-minders. Moreover, those same Labour councils that tolerate failure are a source of benefits paid for, in part, by confiscatory levels of council tax. When it comes to instant gratification through the welfare system or the hard-won fruits of education over the long term, then it is no contest. Welfare wins every time. Subsidise socially dysfunctional behaviour and educational failure and you get more of both, not less. More money, spent specifically on education, in addition to that already spent as part of the general welfare budget, merely aggravates the problem.

If then, as I am arguing, high levels of welfare spending and educational failure are closely related, then the outlook is not good. Welfare provisions grew under the last government and the removal of Frank Field, a man with a deep moral and intellectual grasp of the corruption engendered by welfare, implies that the new Labour government have not got the stomach to tackle the problem either. Matters are made worse by the changing nature of work which now relies on the service industries and the notion of adding value. Such work practices require certain segments of the work force to study at the highest levels offered by good universities. A great deal of the work force, however, does not require such demanding preparation. They can be hired, given in-house training and laid off when necessary. No amount of employment legislation can change this. In fact, legislation will force companies to accelerate ways of reducing their dependence on low-paid employees.

Confidence in traditional approaches is the key to education reform. Without it, any reform is meaningless, even harmful. If the task of education is merely to provide a semi-skilled supply of workers for business – a bleak thought – then the burden of education, or more accurately training, should fall on business. If, on the other hand, conservatives at all levels of government believe that a good education, as traditionally understood, is a desirable moral and intellectual end in itself, that it should be available to every child, then it is high time that we put the "teaching" establishment to the sword ("non-judgementally", of course). Once the power and insidious influence of this establishment has been broken, or severely curtailed, then those who want to teach, will be free to do so. □

Dr Frank Ellis is Lecturer in Russian at the University of Leeds



A toast to St George

Nicholas Winterton decries Labour's anti-British, anti-Unionist instincts and policies

New Labour is shy of history. The true nature of any political party becomes evident once it has power and this is the nature of Labour in Government.

Labour's programme is wholly damaging to the United Kingdom and the unique British way of life which we enjoy. Much of the contemporary media, commentators and politicians on the Left have done their utmost to chip away at our proud traditions and history in this country and they now have a Government which is actually destroying these very assets from the centre.

Tony Blair says that the Empire has gone, the Acts of Union have been dismantled by devolution, we are now members of the European Union, and that Britain has now reached the end of its historical usefulness and will shortly disappear into the federal morass of Europe.

I have to disagree! Due to the unique nature of the United Kingdom's relationship with the rest of the world and the part we have played in the development of many nations, I believe we British still have a pivotal role around the globe. Whilst on his recent trip to South America, HRH Prince Charles was entirely right to make reference to Britain's presence in the South Atlantic in the hope that the wishes of the people of the Falkland Islands to remain British would be respected by Argentina.

The United Kingdom has an important role to play in both European and world affairs. That is why William Hague is quite correct when he asserts that "we want to be in Europe but not run by Europe".

But it has now become abundantly clear that this government – with the active assistance of a selection of multinational corporations and a section of internationalist-minded media – intends to abolish the pound, the Bank of England and the economic sovereignty of the British nation. They would prefer the UK to surrender all meaningful powers to an unelected oligarchy of financiers in Frankfurt and a Commission in Brussels, whose members were recently hounded from office for their corruption, nepotism and mismanagement. Helped by cronies and contacts in the liberal-Left media, this is a government dedicated to putting the UK into its final phase of decline, ruination and suicide.

The Euro – that hated symbol of the equally self-serving Brussels bureaucracy – is the final tool in the Establishment's armoury of destruction. Make no mistake, the European Single Currency is a political project rather than an economic instrument; it is a physical manifestation of Europe the superstate, not Europe the single market. Indeed, the Euro would be proposed by Messrs Brown and Blair

even if it had no economic benefit whatever – so programmed, so co-ordinated, so psychopathic and dogmatic is the drive to abolish the nation-state.

The imposition of the Euro would spell the end of our nation as we know it – the end of the story of the island nation, the end of our democracy, the end of us as a people who carry our own coinage in our pockets. To avoid the humiliation of being "part of Europe", we must offer uncompromising resistance to any plans to make Britain an occupation zone of a foreign superstate. Now is the time for argument, anger and perhaps – if they take our Queen, currency and integrity away – time to take our displeasure onto the streets.

The facile and deracinated nature of New Labour means that this government is happy with such massive sell-outs to Europe and the terrorists in Northern Ireland. But of course it is easier to be supine rather than to stand up against the terrorist, or fight for the interests of the UK in Brussels or respect the time-



Nicholas Winterton

honoured traditions of Parliament.

William Hague has nailed his colours firmly to the mast, taking the battle for the future of the UK to the British people themselves. His task is now to concentrate on the distinctively Conservative issues: Europe and the constitution. These issues have two things in common: nationhood and history.

The idea of what it means to be British has existed for hundreds of years and has sunk deep roots into the consciousness of us all. It represents something much bigger than being English, Scottish or Welsh, and something much stronger than being European. For it is clear, our British identity is not only relevant

to today, it also holds the key to a successful future. Labour's so-called "Third Way" does not appreciate the British character, does not appreciate its qualities and has set out to destroy the political bedrock upon which both are grounded.

The British people want to be positive, enterprising, reliable, respectful and tasteful. I firmly believe that the way to guide the Conservative & Unionist Party back to greatness is to learn from the lessons of history, to be confident for the future and to use our unique and glorious inheritance.

That inheritance is a respect for traditional family life, the traditional role of the Monarchy and the Church of England, our institutions and, above all, traditional, natural human relationships. In all these areas, this government is destroying that inheritance. An important part of our inheritance is the Upper House of our Parliament, which Labour wishes to neuter and to turn, in the short term at least, into a "House of Cronies". The perpetuation of this inheritance, with pragmatic and sensible modification where proven necessary, should be the main mission of the Conservative & Unionist Party.

Our guns must be ranged against New Labour and the damage they are wreaking on our society, for New Labour's Third Way is a threat to our British identity and Tony Blair is a threat to the United Kingdom. He is attacking fundamental aspects of our national identity through a combination of constitutional vandalism, the break-up of the Union through devolution, greater European political union, the emasculation of Parliament, massive increases in the power of the State undermining the British spirit of enterprise and an indifference to institutions such as marriage and the family.

I am proud to remain an unabashed supporter of the Union of the United Kingdom. For, as a member of the Conservative & Unionist Party who looks back on Sir Edward Heath's time as Prime Minister with some shame, as it was then that the distancing from the Unionist inheritance began. This, I believe, was the beginning of the disintegration of the Party in Scotland, culminating in the wipe-out at the last General Election. There remains a proud Unionist tradition in Scotland, one which on the whole has been mistakenly disregarded. I am naturally opposed to any moves within the Party to turn its back on one hundred years of traditional Unionism simply to adopt a revised philosophy of "New Britishness".

If any area of policy displays even greater disregard for history and general foolhardiness then it is that pertaining to Northern Ireland. This Government is blind in the pursuit of peace and continues hoping against all reason that everything will turn out for the best. Principle, reason and unbiased justice have been disregarded by Tony Blair and Mo Mowlam. Every time the Government releases another prisoner they throw away a valuable negotiating card. We come closer to the day when all the prisoners will have been released, yet violence continues and decommissioning remains a dream. No amount of spin-doctoring can change the reality that Northern Ireland is

Continued overleaf ↗

becoming an increasingly lawless and dangerous place to live. So long as he continues to release prisoners, exacting nothing in return, Mr Blair and the Government are simply playing into the hands of terrorists.

This is an utter disgrace which sticks in the throats of law-abiding people right across the United Kingdom, and it cannot in any way generate confidence in the peace process. We have a duty not to turn our backs on the Unionist people of Northern Ireland, whose loyalty to Queen and country should be honoured and reciprocated – not betrayed.

The bombers and murderers now being released have every reason to laugh. They laugh not only at the brave security forces who have worked tirelessly to bring them to justice, but also at Tony Blair and Mo Mowlam, at their naivety, at the conceit and folly of New Labour and at the Ministers who think that “Cool Britannia” is a match for the worst of the island of Ireland. And they are laughing at all of us, at the United Kingdom, at a country which defied the mightiest power on the Continent in 1939, and now bows low before a tiny band of terrorist gangsters. Under Tony Blair, who has released over 250 of our worst enemies, all of whom are free to bomb and shoot and batter, we have sustained a great national defeat – the worst in modern times and the worst, in my view, since appeasement.

I hope and pray for peace, but for a well-founded and lasting peace. The Belfast Agreement is not an end in itself and will not bring peace overnight, but there is a slim chance that it may provide the opportunity to build a lasting peace underpinned by stable institutions and with Ulster guaranteed to remain part of the United Kingdom. The Government’s handling of Northern Ireland is typical of their disregard for the proud traditions of this country and the principles by which generations have lived.

Labour are fundamentally rewriting the British constitution. We face a headlong rush towards devolution, massive and retrograde changes to the electoral system, ill-conceived restructuring of Parliament and a vast and irrevocable transfer of power from Westminster to Brussels.

My fear is that the Blair agenda – wrapped up in the vacuous rhetoric of the Third Way and “modernisation” – will make the British people strangers in their own land, with an alien voting system and parliament. The Prime Minister is holding a dagger to the heart of what it is to be British and, if left unchecked, he will drive it right through that heart.

We cannot allow our national identity to be treated like a passing fad, rebranded, repackaged or consigned to the dustbin. We must be proud of our history and achievements. The eleventh hour is upon us, and I for one will fight for the future of the United Kingdom as a sovereign, independent nation and as a glorious and free country in which to live. □

Nicholas R Winterton is Conservative MP for Macclesfield. This article is adapted from Mr Winterton’s speech at the 1999 Salisbury Review St George’s Day Dinner, and is printed here with permission.

The other threat to national identity

Derek Turner opines that patriots must resist multiculturalism and large-scale immigration just as strongly as they resist rule from Brussels

Those gallant Britons who are against European political and economic union are of diverse kinds and are against the EU for many different reasons. But in the vast majority of cases, the basic objection to the EU is that of innate patriotism – an old-fashioned, irrational, “irrelevant” but compelling feeling that the British way of life is good (maybe even better than anyone else’s, subjectively speaking) and must be preserved.

British patriots can see clearly the problems that are certain to flow from handing over control of our domestic affairs to unelected, socialistic, politically correct Philistines living far away and unacquainted with the nuances of British life. They can see that rule by Brussels and/or Frankfurt will effectively mean the end of Britain as an independent country – at least until some future heroic national liberator restores her ancient freedoms – and the eclipse of the British way of life. Britain will be run completely by unpleasant people, like the Barclay twins, who bought the island of

Brecqhou near to Sark and promptly compelled their new subjects to alter their medieval constitution so as to avoid “sexism” and “ageism” (*Times*, 22 October 1998), or by boring people like Blair and his crew of wreckers.

But there is another threat to our national identity which is arguably at least as ominous as being submerged by the EU. That threat is the pernicious ideology of “multi-culturalism”, devised and promulgated by Marxists turned deconstructionists and fuelled by large scale, poorly-controlled immigration.

The real nature of multiculturalism

Multiculturalism sounds innocuous – most people who hear the term probably think vaguely of Indian restaurants and the Notting Hill Carnival – but it is in fact, as Alain Finkielkraut opined in 1987: “an attempt to reduce Western civilisation to the status of a culture, and so abolish it”. (*La Defaite de la Pensee*, 1987, paraphrased by Roger Scruton in the 1996 edition of his *Dictionary of Political Thought*).

*“A battlefield may be built upon, but the memory of the battle can only be extinguished when ancestral memory itself is extinguished”
— a contemporary engraving of the battle of Naseby*



Multiculturalism, although it masquerades as an earnest endeavour to boost the "esteem" of ethnic and social minorities, is actually thinly-disguised anti-Westernism, often amounting to anti-White racism. The most honest multiculturalists were those students who shouted in the 1960s: "Ho, ho, ho, Western culture's got to go!" Now these students are more discreet, but their views have not changed. From their influential positions in teacher training colleges, the press, the arts, the universities and the Labour Party, they continue their destructive work, and their plans are acceded to by others out of fear or ignorance.

The glorification of other cultures at the expense of the native culture is surely nothing more than ethnic cleansing by kindness, especially when the effort to deprive Britain of her past is lent spurious legitimacy and urgency by a seemingly never-ending stream of legal and illegal immigration and often fraudulent 'asylum-seekers' into our inner cities at a time when our own birth rate is declining. It then becomes all too easy for multiculturalists to present British culture as increasingly "outdated" or "irrelevant" and inherently discriminatory, and all too easy for parts of our national culture to be lost without our even noticing.

If deliberately attacking minority cultures is despicable, which of course it is, then so is attacking majority cultures. If it is wrong to force Amazonian Indians into Western-style modes of living, then it is surely wrong to force British children to believe that Diwali is of as much importance to them as Christmas.

Multiculturalism is potentially even more deleterious to Britain than would be our absorption into a European superstate. Although we should never even consider joining a united Europe, in theory at least we could always leave it later, albeit possibly only after a struggle, as long as our national identity remained intact. A treaty may be torn up, but can our intrinsic national identity endure under sustained cultural attacks? Will not Britain be weakened ineluctably by the spreading (often at government expense) of an ideology that seeks to undermine and replace the mainstream culture with a farrago of other cultures and sub-cultures?

Leaving aside the fact that it "offers to remove the foundations for civil obedience" (as Scruton puts it, *ibid*), multiculturalism saps the foundations of national unity by undermining the nation's cultural assumptions. What is Britain without Chaucer, Spenser, Drake, Raleigh, Tallis, Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, Purcell, Cook, Watt, Johnson, Burns, Thackeray, Dickens, Telford, Livingstone, Darwin, Sir Richard Burton, Elgar or Vaughan Williams? Even if we esteem classical learning less now than formerly, it has had a great impact on our branch of civilisation. Even if we are now rapidly becoming a post-

"Here lies Arthur – the once and future King" – this story of the heroic leader who will return in the hour of need, is deeply ingrained in the folk-consciousness of the British people.



Christian nation, we live in a country which has been strongly influenced by Christianity (particularly Protestantism). Yet all these people and all these concepts are gradually being marginalised or even omitted from curricula at the behest of multiculturalists, and are consequently being gradually expunged from the national consciousness.

"Dead, white, European males", the demons of the multiculturalist religion, created the Britain we know today and wish to protect. If we remove them from their position of cultural pre-eminence, then what is Britain but a mere chunk of land inhabited by atomised individuals united only by their shopping habits? Can the nation remain united if too many of the people within its borders are not culturally part of the nation? What will it profit us to leave the EU if too many of the people in our country are not "us" any longer? How could we ever possibly accumulate the will to leave the EU, if the cultural core of the nation is not more or less intact? The natural desire of many Quebecers to gain independence from Ottawa was defeated by the concentrated votes of recent immigrants in key urban constituencies. How will immigrants from, say, Russia, ever empathise with British values and aspirations, unless they are given the chance or even compelled to absorb them and to become assimilated? Furthermore speaking out against multiculturalism will make the more immediate job of defying the Euro much easier, by boosting the generic sense of nationality.

Does national identity matter?

It is fashionable now to say that national identities do not matter; some even say that national characters do not exist at all, except as "constructs" devised by "the ruling class" to divide and rule militant workers/women/black people/homosexuals, etc. There is an element of wishful thinking in this, both on the part of chiliasts who believe that we are all citizens of "the global village" and must therefore rush into a glorious *Star Trek* future, and on the part of robber barons, who want to remove all those irritating cultural barriers which interfere with their right to drive small companies out of business.

It is certainly true to say that national characters are easier to recognise than to define, but this does not mean that they do not exist. Nations may live largely in the imagination, but they live nonetheless, just as much as do beauty or happiness. A battlefield may be built upon, but the memory of the battle can only be extinguished when ancestral memory itself is extinguished. An old bullet picked up at Naseby is more than just an oddly-shaped piece of lead, but only so long as people can empathise with the Englishmen and women of that time. Many people define themselves at least partly by their nationality. Multiculturalists, wittingly or unwittingly eradicating our ancestral memory by trivialising or attacking it, therefore simultaneously diminish our humanity and make our nation less easy to defend.

A dislike of multiculturalism is a sort of unspoken sub-text underlying much of the *angst* about "Europe". Scratch a "Euro-sceptic", and you often get a more profound kind of sceptic, a person who doubts most of the premises of post-war "liberalism". But their distrust of multiculturalism is always voiced too quietly, with them looking fearfully over their shoulders, as if the thought police were waiting to pounce on them (which, indeed, sometimes they are). Distrust of multiculturalism is easy for the Left to caricature as "racism". Rather than be accused of this, many Euro-sceptics will mutter about "federalism", as an easy substitute.

Detestation of this immoral and divisive ideology of multiculturalism needs to be expressed forcefully by at least some of those who are opposed to the looming European superstate. If we are serious about protecting Britain, then we must protect British culture from the vandals who like to smash things for fun and also from their academic graffitist friends, who describe alien slogans with their post-modernist spray paint, and cover the walls of our castle with barbarian threats and scatological spume. It is time to blow away the clouds of fear and speak the truth – or what we believe to be the truth – in John Bull-ish tradition. It is time for us to become '*A Nation Once Again*' as it is so tunelessly put. □

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Character and the quality of community life

Kevin Lamb argues that the variation in the quality of life from district to district is often a consequence of the differing character traits innate within their respective inhabitants

"Nature never rhymes her children, nor makes two men alike"

Ralph Waldo Emerson¹

In a major speech on juvenile violence, President Clinton ended his plea for safer community schools by citing the words of Robert Kennedy, "The fight against crime is, in the last analysis, a fight to preserve that quality of community which is at the root of our greatness. A fight to preserve confidence in ourselves and in our fellow citizens. A battle for the quality of our lives."² By invoking Kennedy's remark to justify his latest crime prevention initiative, volunteer community policing, Clinton misconstrues the essence of RFK's message: the root of our greatness is the preservation of *quality* community life, not *ad hoc* measures of crime prevention.

'Progressives' like Clinton fail to realise that the conditions which determine the serenity of community life, from rural and suburban North America to quaint villages across the British Isles, offer an *inherently* secure existence. The quality of community life fundamentally reflects the civilized conduct or character of its inhabitants. Conscientious law-abiding residents create peaceful neighbourhoods. Elaborate crime prevention measures like floor-to-ceiling Plexiglas shields that protect bank tellers, airport-style metal detectors in public schools, or sophisticated anti-theft and keyless automotive devices reveal a community's insufficient protection from predatory conduct.

Recent news accounts question the public's anxiety over crime given the current decline in urban violence. Like fish who can't see water, the political and cultural elite habitually ignores *significant* patterns among crime trends. As sociologist Robert Gordon of John Hopkins University points out, relative levels of violent crime rather than fluctuations in absolute crime rates pose a more cogent problem for society.³ Why do some areas remain more violent than others despite changes in crime rates? What are the factors that determine this differential pattern? What accounts for relatively low continuous levels of violent crime in some areas?

Social scientists routinely attribute such disparities to socioeconomic factors, population density or illegal narcotics, even though intrinsic character differences *between* the average neighbourhood resident illuminate disparities in community harmony and social cohesion. In terms of population or cultural differences, the significance of character remains a blind spot for the

multiculturalist. Population differences in human traits like intelligence, temperament, personality, character and disposition – causal pathways of violent crime – explain the persistence of sociopathic conduct within certain communities.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

The experience of growing up in a small Midwest community, earning a living in Washington, DC and raising a family in a Maryland suburb provides first-hand observation of the factors that undermine the quality of community life. From this vantage point, *differences* in community character patterns and norms of conduct established by community dwellers differentiate the sombre township from a tumultuous ghetto. While neither rural nor suburban communities are free of "social problems", the *nature, frequency and intensity* of sociopathic behaviour separates modern suburbia from contemporary urban life. Whether it's a motorist that is suddenly killed during a botched carjacking or a teenager fatally stabbed over an Eddie Bauer jacket, the factors that spawn higher continuous rates of violent crime are more prevalent in urban areas. An overall level of civility that governs smaller communities, rich and poor alike, simply fails to take root in major urban areas mainly because of character differences. The threads of trust and mutual respect which bind the fabric of a stable community are innate qualities that evolve with the character of a conscientious and civilised populace.

Consider the recent closing of the last remaining supermarket in Ward 8, a high crime area in southeast Washington, DC. As reported in *The Washington Post*, Safeway officials decided to close the store because of lost revenue, which generated annual operating losses of one million dollars. Community residents accused Safeway of racism and corporate greed. Local news accounts inadequately explained why this particular Safeway was losing so much in annual revenue. The store either lacked a sufficient clientele base, endured gross mismanagement or customers all too often walked away with the stock inventory. By leaving all this to mere speculation, local news accounts seemed to imply that nefarious motives rather than practical business concerns determined Safeway's decision.⁴

Moreover, *The Washington Post* publishes weekly local supplements that feature community life around the region. The District of Columbia weekly crime roster lists nearly a full page of violent incidents – homicides, rapes, assaults, muggings,



Extreme sociopathic conduct in urban

Above: an armed California National Guard soldier in the neighbourhood of Los Angeles after a

But why did violence flare in Watts, where economic problems, remain

robberies, and vandalism – revealing a level of predation absent from most suburban and rural townships. Consider the following *Washington Post* assessment of D.C.'s violent crime last year:

"A review of last year's homicides paints a disturbing portrait of the nature of violence in the nation's capital: a 17-year-old boy kills a 16-year-old girl when he grabs a handgun falling out of his pocket and it goes off, two women are sexually assaulted and asphyxiated at the same Mount Vernon Plaza apartment building; a great-grandmother is bludgeoned to death during an apparent robbery."⁵

It also points out that the "year's youngest homicide victim was 2-month-old Kendra Anderson," who died of "blunt force trauma" while the oldest victim was 84-year-old Louise Washington, "a landlady who was beaten with a hammer and choked with a telephone cord, allegedly by a tenant she had been planning to evict." Every morning and evening the capital's major roads are clogged as a result of

commuter traffic paralysis (typically by daybreak four lanes of highway traffic inch along for several miles around the capital's Beltway), primarily because entire residential sections of America's capital remain uninhabitable. Most area residents are willing to tolerate one and two hour commutes



ect has a depressingly long history
an America.

ational Guard soldier patrols the Watts
r a night of rioting in the August 1965.

, when other neighbourhoods, with similar
ain peaceful and law-abiding?

rather than subject their families to perilous inner-city conditions a few blocks away from the office.

The "cradle to grave" decadence that Christopher Hitchens recently attributed to the "surreal corruption" of the Marion Barry administration – infant mortality, a TB epidemic, polluted drinking water, and police corruption – persists in the US capital despite decades of social welfare expenditures.⁶ Any of these conditions alone would undermine the quality of community life, yet what compounds the severity of such uninhabitable conditions are intangible human attributes. By pointing to neglect and political corruption, Hitchens fails to see the forest for the trees. When a community is forced to rely upon a defence contractor to produce thug-proof parking meters in order to stop the haemorrhaging of lost city revenue, political corruption and neglect are at best marginal factors.⁷ The comprehensive factor that explains the onset and persistence of these deleterious elements is the proliferation of *dyogenic* population traits.

Although some people intuitively recognise the obvious telltale signs of a "bad" neighbourhood, others fail to understand the causality behind patterns of community instability. It seems difficult for many to visualise the probable consequences or permanent outcomes of small incremental changes in community life. Consider the fact that a locked door or window during the night would have been inconceivable less than a generation ago in some residential areas. Yet gradual demographic shifts in some areas have converted what until a few decades ago was rural farmland into crack-infested crime zones.

Nowhere is this more true than in Prince George's County, Maryland. As PG County's population demographics came to resemble those of the District, it became an increasingly dangerous place to live in. Second only to Washington, DC, it has the highest rate of violent crime than any of the region's surrounding counties due to intrinsic population differences in personality traits, character, and temperament which reflect the unstable attributes of an uncivilised populace.

While conservatives like William Bennett and James Q Wilson have raised important questions as to the relevance of individual moral character to personal conduct, few have pursued the broader social context beyond the individual level like the eminent geneticist Cyril Darlington:

"There is the notion of a social environment, an environment determined by the genetic character of the society in which the individual lives... the evolution of man and society arises from what individual men and women do, and from the purposes they have in doing it; in other words from their character, which in the long run is conditioned by genetic processes. What we have now come to understand is that these genetic processes are entirely at the mercy of the system of breeding."⁸

Earlier in this century, Darlington and other prominent scholars accepted the fact that heredity forged the character and personality of human beings; a view Michael F Guyer once summarised this way, "Heredity determines what one can become, environment affords the means of becoming it". Cultures, nations, races, religions and communities differ from one another because human beings are different by nature. Despite a century of progress in behavioral genetics, public policy all but ignores these underlying issues, primarily because the relevance of character to "social problems" like crime, welfare dependency, drug addiction, out of wedlock births or other impulsive behaviours, raise uncomfortable questions about human differences.

Ultimately, the test of community character is how people adapt to adverse conditions. Harvard anthropologist EA Hooton once noted that, "some peoples are apparently able, through sheer industry and

ingenuity, to 'make the desert blossom like the rose.' Others are equally prone to turn the rose gardens into deserts."¹⁰ In the aftermath of hurricane Andrew, humourist PJ O'Rourke recalled his girlfriend's naïve reaction as she wondered if the devastation would swell the ranks of the homeless. He noted that it would leave little if any lasting impact because those affected would be *too busy building homes!* Implicit in this truism is that the dynamic qualities of a responsible community prevail in the wake of adversity, unlike the destructive catalytic tendencies that underlie random acts of looting and pillaging, a mere reflection of predatory attributes the likes of which require constant supervision.

A common fallacy of "social justice" is the contrived attempt to create a perfect egalitarian society. Present-day levellers disregard Michael Oakeshott's crucial point from *On Human Conduct*: modern civil society is an organic bond, a natural development linking the customs, mores and civic traditions to the character of its constituents¹¹. Again, civilised populations distinguish the desirable community from an undesirable slum. By neglecting the influence of character differences and promoting superficial measures to "improve" the quality of community life, politicians like President Clinton will never forsake another chance to square a circle. □

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Notes

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3. Gordon, R "SES Versus IQ in the racedelinquency model", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 1987, Vol. 7: 30-96.
4. Montgomery, David "Ward 8 Residents Lose the Last Supermarket" *The Washington Post*, 9/10/98, Sec. D, p. 8.
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10. Hooton, Earnest Albert *Why Men Behave Like Apes & Vice Versa* Princeton University Press, 1941, p 159.
11. Oakeshott, Michael J *On Human Conduct*, Oxford University Press, 1975.

The *History/Herstory* debate – some caveats

Edward Mishan begs to differ from the feminist interpretation of History/Herstory

Two questions continually surface in this debate. First, is the history written today still too much his-story and not enough her-story? Secondly, and more generally, whether and how far should historians take into account past injustices to ethnic groups and to different segments of society, so opening themselves perhaps to current notions of political correctness, in presenting their versions of the past?

Yet if we accept the view that the prime objective of historical research is to uncover all events and facts that will enable us to form a more faithful picture of the past and apprehend how people thought, and felt about their lives and times – then we are bound to dismiss the idea that our understanding of history has to be guided by some dominant motif; for instance, the primacy of underlying economic forces, the achievements of great men, the universal impulse toward improvement (the Whig theory of history), or by fashionable ideologies such as the struggle for class supremacy or for racial or sexual emancipation.

One has to be aware of the temptation to which historians of today are prone: that of accommodating a perception of the past that is, at least, not unsympathetic to the feminist enlightenment or, worse, that of courting popularity by a seemingly modernistic interpretation of the past in ways which serve to vindicate the aspirations of the Women's Liberation Movement of the latter half of the 20th century.

Yet this influence which, in varying degrees, can be detected in so much popular and revisionist history may possibly be diminished over time if the apparent triumph of the Women's Movement over recent decades comes to be perceived not so much as the outcome of a prolonged and heroic struggle for emancipation from a male-dominated establishment but, instead, recognized as a virtually unavoidable consequence of economic growth in the West – more specifically, of the acceleration of technological progress after the turn of the century.

Thus the much-heralded emancipation of women from their traditional role in the home could not have been realised on any scale in the absence of an unprecedented mass prosperity, itself the product of unceasing efforts of men, much of whose ingenuity was channelled, after the turn of the century, into the creation of a proliferation of domestic labour-saving innovations – gas or electric fires, cookers and ovens, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, washing, drying, polishing machines etc, plus a growing availability of pre-cleaned, pre-

cooked processed, frozen foodstuffs and other products – all of which acted to make housewives increasingly expendable in the home.

About the same time women's economic emancipation was being promoted by labour-saving innovations in industry and commerce. For with the introduction of machinery that removed the need for physical strength and endurance, women became eligible for tasks hitherto reserved for men, and increasing recourse to automation and computers multiplied their opportunities in new factories and in the expanding service industries of the economy.

RADICAL IMPLICATIONS

In sum, the technological momentum after the turn of the century acted both to undermine women's traditional roles, diminishing their importance in the home, while at the same time expanding their opportunities in the economy: in effect, impelling them into an unprecedented state of emancipation, one carrying with it the most radical, indeed disconcerting, political and social implications. For one thing, this technical 'revolution' which has so rapidly eroded the economic foundations in which the woman's traditional role had been embedded also served, incidentally, to jeopardise the institution of marriage. And with the dissolution of traditional male and female roles there has arisen what is now commonly referred to as a sexual identity crisis.

"The veritable flood of women's 'gender' literature over the past three decades is evidence of desperate soul searching... about the proper role and character to which the new woman should aspire"

The veritable flood of women's 'gender' literature over the past three decades is evidence of desperate soul searching which, at a more popular level, has also produced a divergence of views about the proper role and character to which the new woman should aspire: which particularly female characteristics are to be encouraged or discouraged? Should the liberated female strive to adapt herself so as to cope successfully in the highly competitive global economy? Or should she, instead, use her growing influence to create a gentler, or at least less abrasive, society?

Be that as it may, the sexual disorientation to which the modern generation is exposed, and the consequent floundering among feminists in poignant search of a valid and viable *persona* has done nothing to dampen growth in the belief that women's liberation, in so far as it has been realised, is indeed a liberation from injustices suffered in the past. So pervasive and influential has this conception of the past become that the conscientious historian has continually to be aware of this powerful undertow of accepted wisdom. Nevertheless it would be difficult to argue convincingly that, when analysed within a broader context, the apparent disabilities suffered by women exceeded those endured by men.

Bearing in mind the feuding and fighting among men, the savagery of dynastic struggles and the slaughter of war, it may be confidently asserted that men behaved with greater cruelty toward one another than they did toward women. Even during periods of comparative peace in Europe, life was no picnic for the ordinary man. Often engaged in physically exhausting tasks, a man might be disabled or deformed before he reached middle age. During the 18th Century he might be captured by a press gang, virtually imprisoned for years on a sailing ship, housed below deck amid filth and stench, poorly fed, exposed to the perils of the sea, which included seizure by pirates and enslavement. Other male 'privileges' included the perils of military service in faraway lands, exposed to the ravages of disease or to a slow and agonised death on the battlefields. Should he survive the wars he could return scarred, disfigured, perhaps reduced to beggary for the rest of his wretched life. Taken as a whole then, life in the past was harsher and more fraught with danger for men than it was for women.

To be sure, there is no lack of examples from medieval to modern times of intelligent and high-spirited women chafing under domestic and social constraints. But then neither can it be doubted that, in consequence of social and institutional barriers, many ambitious and talented men likewise suffered indignities and frustration. Thus, in the contention between the sexes for the crown of martyrdom the claims of men are not to be lightly dismissed. Due consideration must also be given to the observation that the institutions of male privilege served also to shelter women from the many harsh and cruel aspects of life in the past to which men were exposed.

The foregoing remarks, both the former on the economic wellspring of women's liberation and the latter on male hardship in

the past, are advanced to foster scepticism, first, with respect to feminist expectations of an enriched lifestyle in the future. For, although, there is indeed every prospect of expanding job opportunities – a prospect somewhat damped, however, by the quickening pace of obsolescence – the initial exhilaration is unlike to endure: ordinary men have been more apt to regard their daily work as a daily grind. More important, there can be no presumption that women's new economic roles and lifestyles comport well with, or do not jar against, women's innate biological impulses. Such scepticism, it is hoped, will add weight to the comments and caveats that follow.

First, although we may now pass time agreeably imagining how much better the world would have been if women had participated fully in public life, the plain fact is that they did not do so. Consequently we have to resign ourselves to the irksome recognition that the chief actors on the stage of history were predominantly men – whether we are following the history of political events or political ideas, the history of science or technology, or of art or music. Predominantly, but not entirely. Fanciful allegations of male conspiracy or connivance operating to make women “invisible” in history, founder on the hard fact that men have written any number of detailed histories of female rulers such as Cleopatra, Queen Elizabeth I, Catherine the Great, Queen Victoria, and countless biographies of famous and infamous women who have played a fascinating role in the events of the past.

Nor will it be denied that continued research may yet uncover hitherto unknown or neglected personalities, male or female, who have contributed in significant ways to political or social history. But such anticipations are far removed from the intoxicating feminist fantasies of a “new conceptual framework”, or stirring feminist visions of rewriting “from a different perspective the entire canon of existing history”.*

Social history, on the other hand, which necessarily trespasses on economic history, deals also with family relations and with past customs and beliefs. In fact, historians are today more than ever absorbed in trying to understand just how people in the past thought and felt about their lives, what were their chief sources of satisfaction and the hopes and beliefs that sustained them? Special attention to women's attitudes and perceptions about contemporary life are warranted wherever there is reason to suspect that they differ markedly from those of men within any class or area. In view of the prevailing consensus there is a need for professional historians to scrutinise evidence purporting to substantiate the growing impression that throughout history women were more discontented with their role than were men, or that habitually they resented the patriarchal establishment.

Bear in mind, however, that the existence of male privilege is not an issue: there is no need to spend time documenting the obvious. In all preceding civilisations property rights and authority were indeed formally vested in the male head of the family. Yet so mundane a fact is not of itself evidence of female repression. For the vast bulk of the population in the past such formal privileges did not amount to much, considering that until the end of the 19th Century the greater proportion of families were employed in farming and living in material circumstances that offered only a limited margin of choice.

Moreover, the distinction between authority and power is crucial. The study of customs and of actual family behaviour offers a far surer guide to the distribution



Queen Elizabeth I

“Fanciful allegations of male conspiracy or connivance operating to make women “invisible” in history, founder on the hard fact that men have written any number of detailed histories of female rulers such as ... Queen Elizabeth I”

of power within the home than do the clauses of legal documents. My own view is that, in the West at least, the influence of the mother in domestic affairs was hardly less than that of her husband.

Two caveats remain to be emphasised. First, whenever history is pressed into the service of a political movement it is unlikely to be good history. Too much of “her-story” is to be found today in “Women's Studies” where the literature of the past is combed for instances of male tyranny or of the mistreatment of women. Just as Marxist Studies tended to seek evidence confirming Marxist theory, so the committed feminist is apt to seek for confirmatory evidence. Contrary, then, to

accepted standards of scholarship, which tests a hypothesis by attention to all the available evidence, in particular to evidence that may disconfirm the hypothesis in question or that may be consistent with a contrary or alternative hypothesis, the ideologically committed historian ploughs through sources and documents with an eye to selecting that which reinforces his predilections.

The second caveat turns on a less obvious source of bias, that which results when history is conceived as an unfolding of events, as somehow guided by teleological forces – the past as prelude to the present, the “locomotive of history”. We need to remind ourselves constantly that any particular change of political or economic direction was not predetermined, that it followed from choices continually being made. The chief actors in every period of history stood at the threshold of a future; they had to react to circumstances, to make critical decisions often in the face of conflicting impulses and of unavoidable uncertainties.

DUBIOUS PRACTICES

Caution has therefore to be exercised in discovering, in an earlier age, the seeds of future developments or in identifying the harbingers of various facets of today's ‘liberal enlightenment’. This, alas, is common practice – along with occasional recourse to idiomatic slang, to recent buzz words, or, worse still, to the *Newspeak* argot of political correctness – especially among those seeking to popularise history, to “bring to life the past”, to make history “relevant”.

An equally dubious artifice is that of attempting to interest the reader in the past by gratuitous comparisons with modern institutions or recent developments which are apt to produce in the reader a spurious sense of familiarity with the social, political or religious issues that exercised our ancestors.

All such popularising devices run the risk of conveying not merely a superficial understanding of the past but also a misleading one.

The ideal to be pursued then, is not that of bringing the past into the present but rather the reverse: that of ourselves making the journey into the past – that of familiarising ourselves with a social culture different from that in which we were reared, one having a different conception of the universe, one in thrall to different myths and prejudices and, therefore, deferring to different codes of address and conduct. □

* The quoted phrases are taken from ‘Women and History’ by Julia Philips (*History Today*, February 1984).

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Standardbearers: British Roots of the New Right

Edited by Jonathan Bowden, Eddy Butler and Adrian Davies, Bloomsbury Forum, Beckenham, 1999, 175 pps, pb, £6.00

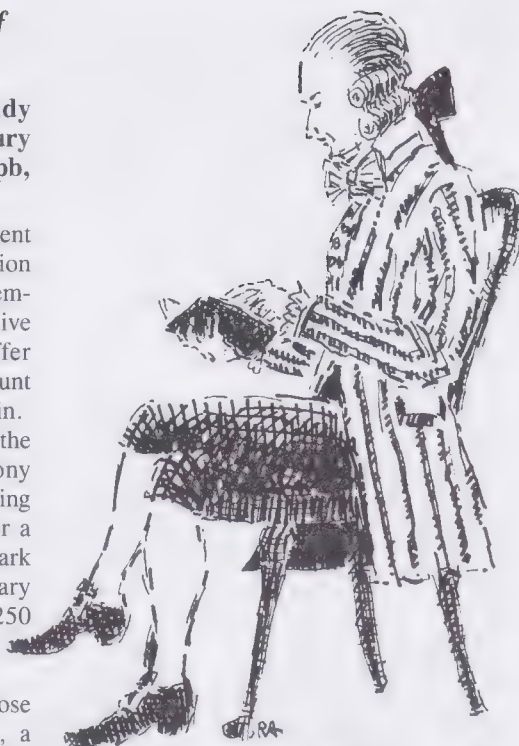
The Bloomsbury Forum is an independent institute which aims to promote discussion about the direction of politics in contemporary Britain. The intention is to revive our native political traditions and offer positions and strategies that take account of the condition of contemporary Britain.

The book, which has a foreword by the eminent philosopher Professor Antony Flew, is a collection of 20 essays of varying lengths by 15 authors. The essays cover a wide range of figures who have made a mark on the British political, economic, literary and cultural scenes during the past 250 years. All of the figures chosen have something to teach the modern Right.

My personal favourite essays were those on Enoch Powell (by Sam Swerling, a former Conservative PPC and ex-Chairman of the Monday Club), Joseph Chamberlain and Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson (the latter two by Adrian Davies, founder of the Bloomsbury Forum). As well as examining the careers and attitudes of various soldiers and politicians, the book also covers such varied personalities as Dr Johnson, Lord Penney (father of Britain's atomic bomb in 1947-52), the Scottish High Tory and novelist John Buchan and the Catholic restorationists and distributists Hilaire Belloc and G K Chesterton.

The inclusion of Belloc and Chesterton adds a good balance to the book. Their critiques of industrial capitalism and political corruption are extremely relevant to modern Britain. The intense religious fervour present in their writings is in sharp contrast to the present condition of our churches. The apostasies into which the mainstream churches have fallen must bear a major part of the responsibility for the collapse of personal morality and the social anarchy in large parts of our country today. The book also contains an article on the English socialist, Robert Blatchford, showing him to have been a man of intense patriotic principles, his socialism notwithstanding. How sad it is to think that among the vast numbers of today's Liberal Democrat and Labour parties one can only really say a handful are genuine British patriots. Other people covered include Disraeli, Burke, Bonar Law, G A Henty, Arnold Bax and the novelist Bill Hopkins.

My only criticism of the book is very minor: I think that it would have been helpful if all of the essays had had a bibliography, footnotes and suggestions for further reading. This is an extremely readable book and I hope that there will be a second volume. I hope that the editors will consider having articles on such authentic



Books

"Reading maketh a full man" — Bacon

British heroes and heroines as CS Lewis, Major CH Douglas, TE Uley, Sir Anthony Quayle and Violette Szabo.

Standardbearers is available from the Bloomsbury Forum, PO Box 117, Beckenham, Kent, BR3 4ZE, at £6.00 plus 75p post and packing.

Allan B Robertson

The Death of Britain

John Redwood, MP, Macmillan, 1999, 201 pps, pb, £9.99

As the destruction of our institutions proceeds apace, any book which addresses the secret revolution taking place in today's Britain is to be welcomed. *The Death of Britain*, described by the author as "an alarm call", is an analysis of many of the components of New Labour's assault on the United Kingdom, with separate chapters on the House of Lords, the marginalisation of the Commons, proportional representation and devolution.

As one might expect, a large percentage is devoted to Redwood's recognition that "much of Labour's constitutional radicalism represents a bowing to the European model". He looks closely at those political models identified as being the templates for European integration. Redwood is particularly lucid in his debunking of the myth of the political independence of the *Bundesbank* – a body so impotent that it was unable to prevent the politicians destroying the very currency it was charged

with protecting. He examines federal models and finds them all, with the partial exception of the Swiss, wanting. (The irony is that Redwood only studies federations which *do* work, however imperfectly. He might also have pointed out that the vast majority of federations fail utterly – from the USSR and Yugoslavia to the numerous short-lived experiments in Africa and the West Indies.)

Redwood also paints a grim picture of the ostracising of the Commons from political life. Tony Blair constantly identifies himself as seeking the 'Third Way' of consensus and general niceness. The reality, of course, is markedly different. The avoidance of 'confrontation' is a device for preventing any meaningful scrutiny of the New Labour agenda. Thus the Commons, by its very nature confrontational and unamenable to media stage management, is sidelined. Labour MPs are actively encouraged to be absent as much as possible. Instead, they should be in their constituencies selling New Labour, and Blair does not even bother concealing this reversal of the accepted constitutional role of the MP.

Given Blair's intolerance of criticism, Redwood finds it unsurprising that other British institutions wherein the nucleus of revolt might be found are under attack. Thus, at a time when there is a need for an independent House of Lords to counter the greatly increased power of extraparliamentary bodies, New Labour has launched an all-out assault aimed at turning the Lords into "a compliant government quango".

The chapter on the House of Lords follows the pattern used throughout *The Death of Britain*. Redwood describes succinctly what New Labour is up to. He then outlines the alternative models, usually to dismiss them. Although this is useful in an academic sense, it sometimes leaves the reader none the wiser as to where Redwood himself actually stands, beyond a vague longing for the *status quo ante*. Of course, this criticism can be levelled at the Conservative Party in general. The difficulty for Redwood lies not in the fact that his commentary, however excellent, is describing events over which he does not have the slightest control, but that Conservatives appear unable to offer any alternatives. What makes the problem worse is that an appreciable section of Conservatism is in active collaboration with Downing Street. The process of co-opting neutered Tories into the new governance-by-patronage – 'Operation Hoover' it is called in Downing Street – is a key element in building the new Britain, in effect making Britain a one-party state. Politeness to Party colleagues possibly prevents Redwood from mentioning the degree of Tory complicity in the process. He is understandably stronger in his recognition that it is now virtually impossible to get rid of politicians through

the ballot box. Provided they are Tony's cronies, they will simply pop up again in the appointed House of Lords, in one of the regional assemblies, in some well funded quango or, of course, in Europe.

Redwood is clear that the EU is not, and never has been, an economic programme. Useful in this respect is his denunciation of the 'Single Market', which he exposes as a politically motivated project resulting "in a greatly strengthened Brussels bureaucracy".

Strangely, it is in the section on the Euro, exactly where one might expect Redwood to be at his best, that *The Death of Britain* starts to go badly wrong. In the first instance, the relevant chapter was written before the launch of the Euro. This is unacceptable in a book published over five months later. The result is profoundly confusing; because everything is written in the future tense, it is not at all clear whether Redwood is making a prediction, describing an event that has already happened, or outlining a particular consequence should Britain join the Euro zone. More fundamentally, Redwood fails to make the kill. Having demonstrated that the EU is an unreformable political project which impairs Britain's global performance, he fails to follow his chapter "The Single Currency – Why Britain Must Stay Out" with its logical successor "The European Union – Why Britain Must Get Out." Senior Tory Eurosceptics are soon going to have to grasp this nettle.

The Death of Britain has a second, rather more predictable, omission. Nowhere is there acknowledgement that the corrosive state ideology of 'political correctness', particularly multiculturalism, is the anaesthetic New Labour uses to paralyse public opinion. We all know that any politician who sticks his head above the parapet on this one stands a very good chance of getting it blown off. But it is disappointing that, as on Europe, even John Redwood does not feel able to sail a little bit closer to the wind. Instead, his conclusions centre on the virtues of the global free market.

His ideal is to be found in the Scillies, where doors can be left unlocked and the riches of the Earth are brought to the islands by the daily Penzance ferry, delivering "supplies from the choice of the world market". But it is easier to argue that the Scilly Isles have survived by *avoiding* globalism. The virtue in the Scillies lies in the fact that its inhabitants still recognise communal and social obligations to each other, not traits immediately associated with economic libertarianism. Literally or figuratively, insular societies have indeed escaped the worst excesses of the false modernity. But those which have most enthusiastically 'bought into' Redwood's free market model are also arguably the most vulnerable.

Free market capitalism is not of itself a moral good. What makes capitalism toler-

able to society in general is that it requires large numbers of relatively prosperous consumers spending their money in overall security and comfort. This is of course a good thing – certainly better than most of the alternatives. But if capitalism can be made to function without freedom there are plenty of 'free marketeers' indifferent to the resultant unemployment, poverty and abrogation of democratic checks. So, what if, as is far from unlikely, the 'free market' deems the Penzance ferry to be economically unviable? Will Redwood then recognize a higher god than the market? If he is genuine in his support for traditional society – and there is no reason to doubt it – he has yet to adequately square this circle.

On the plus side, Redwood's clear writing style and his dispassionate analysis of the issues make this a useful addition to the bookshelf of anyone who wishes to inform himself of the background to the New Labour agenda. *The Death of Britain* does not necessarily benefit from sequential reading. It is better viewed as a handbook for the reader needing a quick yet comprehensive briefing. In this respect, it is a valuable appraisal of the constitutional revolution being undertaken by stealth in our nation today.

Stuart Notholt

Wisdom and Innocence – A Life of G K Chesterton

Joseph Pearce, Hodder & Stoughton,
London, 1998, 522 pps, pb, £12.99

A criticism levelled at Joseph Pearce's biography is that "it tells us nothing new". This is not so strong a criticism as it may at first appear. Alcuin's was the first "Life" of Charlemagne, and it might be said that all subsequent biographies, up to and including Pirenne's brilliant *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, have "told us nothing new". The response might be: "It's the way that they tell it that matters", for Pearce develops a new way of telling it.

Although each of his chapter headings suggests an aspect of GKC's character, work and life, he has overcome the desiccation such a division of subject threatens (as, for example, in a Pelican history) rather neatly. The chapter may begin with, say, Chesterton's novel writing or the launch of his journal, *GK's Weekly*, but each chapter carries us forward a few years of Chesterton's life.

What cannot be disputed is that this is an astonishingly well-researched book, not only because of its deep delving into Chesterton's own papers, but in its scouring of contemporary newspapers and literary journals for the critical reactions to Chesterton's books as they were published. It is a mark of the book's power that one is

left in awe at the personality and achievement of Chesterton.

After publication, a Left-wing reviewer in a Left-wing newspaper considered it germane to literary criticism that Pearce had been a youthful member of the erstwhile National Front. A parallel, I think, would be a similar critic reviewing Chesterton's *Orthodoxy* with the triumphant revelation that Chesterton had been a youthful member of the South Place Ethical Society, but had not touched upon the principles of that Society in the course of his apologia for orthodoxy! Just as Chesterton outgrew the ethics, such as they were, of the South Place, so Pearce has outgrown the policies of a body which is completely insignificant, if it has not been actually dissolved. Pearce tells us that as his knowledge of Chesterton grew and drew him towards the Catholic Church, so it drew him away from the tenets of the National Front. It might also be added that during the latter part of his membership he also drew the National Front away from the extremism and toward Distributism – a process which led to the splintering of the party and the exit of Pearce and those who shared his views. An interesting comparison is with Douglas Hyde, sometime news editor of the *Daily Worker*, who in his 1950 biography, *I Believed*, tells us that his reading of Chesterton led him to the Catholic Church and away from the monstrosity of Communism, a creed responsible for the ruthless extermination of at least 100 million people.

Pearce has written a new kind of biography that is immensely readable. If indeed, it "tells us nothing new", it tells it in a strikingly new way.

Anthony Cooney

The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead

Derek Freeman, Westview, 1999,
xi + 279 pps, hb, £16.50

This book is a study of how Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa*, the all-time anthropological best seller, came to be accepted as a definitive scientific study.

Although that work was first published in 1928 and Mead herself died laden with academic and other honours in 1979, the discrediting of her supposedly definitive scientific work has a continuing practical importance. For quite apart from the fact that we are all living with the long term consequences of the enormously extensive circulating of Mead's exquisitely drawn picture of free love under the palm trees of South Sea islands, the extreme environmentalism which caused her to be so easily and completely hoaxed by mischievous but well intentioned misinformants is still alive and

Continued overleaf ↗

doing harm both in the social sciences and to the proper application of their true findings.

Environmentalism here is the belief that all differences between the dispositions and the behaviours both of all individual human beings and of all sets of human beings are to be explained by reference to their environments. (By Cantor's *Axiom for Sets* the sole essential feature of a set is that its members have at least one common characteristic, any kind of characteristic.) Mead early became and throughout her entire career remained an environmentalist in this sense. This happened under the influence of Franz Boas, the Supervisor of her own first anthropological researches and the dominant figure in American anthropology during the first half of the present century. When he encouraged Mead to research in Samoa Boas both hoped and expected that her results would tend to confirm his – and her – environmentalism.

Freeman concludes that Mead was genuinely, albeit very happily, deceived into believing her misinformants about free love under the palm trees. But it is impossible to be equally charitable about Boas. For he was personally responsible, as Mead's supervisor, for assuring the Board of National Research Fellowships in the Biological Sciences that the account contained in her report was based on reliable data and that her general conclusion about adolescence was scientifically warranted. And various items among the supposedly supporting data supplied by Mead herself do not merely fail actually to support that general conclusion about adolescence but are formally incompatible with it. Yet Boas declared himself completely satisfied. My own suspicions had been first aroused, when by reading the Pelican edition of 1943, I was assured that normal adolescent Samoan girls regularly engaged for years in casual love-making without any becoming pregnant.

The same uncritical, bigoted environmentalism as characterised Boas and Mead has continued to characterise the American Anthropological Association (AAA). For when, in 1983, Freeman published his first findings on Margaret Mead and Samoa, *The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*, the AAA responded by having a special session during its Annual Meeting, to which Freeman himself was not invited, to examine his refutation of Mead. At the end of the day a formal motion denouncing this as "poorly written, unscientific, irresponsible and misleading" was put to the vote and passed. Such methods of deciding academic controversies had previously been confined to the Soviet Bloc – as in the Lysenko affair.

Antony Flew

Action against the Euro



Save Our Sovereignty March, 9th May

Supporters of *Right NOW!* attended the Save Our Sovereignty march in London on May 9th, which was attended by a very wide range of organisations and people. As a first attempt at a large-scale popular demonstration against the Euro, the scale of the march was slightly disappointing, with only about 1,000 marching. The reason for the small turnout was that few organisations gave their full support, many believing that it was "too early" for such marches. But Pam Barden is to be commended for her enterprise and energy for organising the day's events, which included speeches from Sir Teddy Taylor MP, Nigel Farage of UKIP and a representative of the recently-formed Democratic Party. *Right NOW!* supporters gave out hundreds of leaflets, which resulted in a very satisfying number of enquiries and new subscriptions.

Further anti-Euro activities include:

- **25th July** - the Democracy Movement's third day of action. Please contact the Democracy Movement on (0171) 630 9465
- **2nd August** - Commonwealth Day at 8pm, in London. Tickets £5 a head, with proceeds to CIB SE London. Please contact Douglas Ellison at 52 Beaconsfield Rd, London SE3 7LG
- **7th August** - March for Freedom in London. Meet between 3pm and 4pm at the Guildhall. The march will leave prompt at 4pm, and reach Trafalgar Square for a rally between 5pm and 6pm. Contact the Freedom Association for information on (0171) 928 9925
- **26th September** - Set Britain Free march in London. Further details from Bob Lomas, Britain Out, on (01403) 741 736

Overlooked Britain



Decapitated statues at Crowland Abbey, Lincolnshire.

Crowland Abbey was founded near the site of the cell of St Guthlac (673-714) by his relative, King Ethelbald of Mercia. The Abbey was partly destroyed and rebuilt many times, even surviving an earthquake, and became the wealthiest mitred abbey in the country.

A unique triangular bridge of three semi-circles meeting at an apex, built in the 13th century when the streets were waterways, still stands in the village.

Mugpherson Report

In the first quarter of 1999, the incidence of muggings in London increased by 13% and sex crimes by 6%. There are now 100 muggings in the capital every day. Many police, including the London Chairman of the Police Federation, believe this is because police officers are reluctant to stop and search black suspects for fear of being accused of racism in the wake of the Macpherson Report on the Stephen Lawrence murder. (*Metro London*, 27th April 1999 and *Evening Standard*, 20th May 1999)

Liberal arts

"No less than seven studies of Shirley Maclaine but not a single serious study of a historical figure...the history section has copious coverage of the past in Africa, India, Asia and Ireland, but nothing on England before the Tudors or after the 18th century...the narrowness and Leftwing skew of the politics section is shocking. Most of it is devoted to feminism, trade unionism and the history of slavery" - Molly Watson, on Cricklewood Library. (*Evening Standard*, 20th May 1999)

Independent witness

Helen Seaford, the "ordinary person" chosen to speak on Lords reform, and who wants peers to be chosen on a quota system, is the former head of a government-funded body promoting multiculturalism, and a former Labour parliamentary candidate for Barnsley East. (*Daily Telegraph*, 14th May 1999)

Awkward findings

Over half of under 24 year olds see England as a "defiant" country which fought to retain its traditions and independence, according to a poll carried out on behalf of a Left-of-centre consultancy. A spokesman for the consultancy said: "This is the *Loaded* generation. They have incredibly low social and political awareness". (*Metro London*, 5th May 1999)

Family gold

Gordon Brown is to sell off more than half of the UK's gold reserves, leaving the UK with the lowest bullion holdings of any major economy. Haruko Fukuda, chief executive of the World Gold Council, commented:

"This is a political decision in preparation for joining the euro. This move appears to be preempting the promised referendum". (*Daily Telegraph*, 8th May 1999)

South London sums

Bromley Council taxpayers are paying over £250,000 a year



educating asylum seekers' children. The borough's council tax is set to rise by 10% next year. (*Bromley & Hayes News Shopper*, 31st March 1999)

Sleeping with the enemy

More than 100 companies, including Peugeot, Tesco and British Aerospace, have called for the amalgamation of all existing "anti-discrimination" bodies into a new body to tackle all forms of discrimination. The companies have also proposed that laws to prevent "ageist" discrimination should be introduced. (*Financial Times*, 5th May 1999)

In touch with the people

Foreign Office Minister Baroness Symons sends her 13 year old son to a £10,000 a year public school, the latest in a long line of senior Labour figures choosing good schools for their children, despite the Party's anti-selection policy. (*Metro London*, 26th April 1999)

Sensible Sereny

"She did something very important...no matter how much she screamed at me, called me every name under the sun, I never thought for a moment that she would try to hurt me. It simply isn't in her... she has a curious mixture of honesty, goodness and humour. When she killed two children she was almost not present" - authoress Gitta Sereny, on Mary Bell who, at the age of 11 killed two boys, aged three and four. (*Daily Telegraph*, 10th May 1999)

Draper's record

The latest poster advertisement for Benetton clothes shows a large bloodstain on a white background with the logo and

address of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the Benetton logo and contact details for those wishing to send money to the Kosovo appeal. Previous advertisements for the rag trade firm have shown a man dying from AIDS, a black woman breastfeeding a white baby and an unwashed new born

baby. (*Daily Telegraph*, 7th May 1999)

Silvertongue

British Socialist MEP Ken Collins, opening the last meeting of the European Parliament's environment committee before the Euro-elections: "The significance of this meeting is...really quite significant". (*European Voice*, 12-19th May 1999)

Benefits of membership

10% of the entire EU budget, or about £5 billion, is misspent every year, according to the European Court of Auditors. Half of this amount is lost to various forms of fraud. (*Labour Euro-Safeguards Campaign Bulletin*, May 1999)

Stiff upper lip slips

Dr Frank Furedi, a reader in sociology at the University of Kent, estimates that as much as £7 billion could be spent each year in compensation damages and related lawyers' fees. (*Daily Telegraph*, 19th April 1999)

Adolph's race theories

"A heraldry expert believes that most people in Britain have some black ancestry. 'Black people have lived and settled in this country for the past 2,000 years and are part of the British gene pool' said Anthony Adolph, a researcher for the Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies". (*Daily Telegraph*, 18th April 1999)

Weaselly Wechsler

In many offices, swapping gossip over a lunchtime pint might be traditional, but it could be regarded as rather tactless by those who object to alcohol. For that reason, it may not be appropriate in a multicultural society, said Croydon Council

Chief Executive David Wechsler at a meeting on ethnic minorities and employment at Croydon Town Hall. (*Croydon Advertiser*, 16th April 1999)

Nursing a grudge

Healthcare workers at a Unison conference voted overwhelmingly that Florence Nightingale

was out of date as an icon of the nursing profession and that she should be replaced by Mary Seacole, a Jamaican herbalist active at the same time. Delegates were told that Nightingale represented the "negative and backward elements of nursing", and that her "privileged" background, Protestantism and whiteness meant that she was unrepresentative of the ethnic mixture in today's NHS. (*Daily Telegraph*, 28th April 1999)

Money laundering

Labour MEP and veteran "anti-racist" campaigner, Glyn Ford, is under investigation after allegations that he used his parliamentary expense account for paying his household bills, including council tax and laundry. (*Metro London*, 20th May 1999)

Starry-eyed idealists

Lord Levene, Lord Mayor of London, travelling in disguise through the City on Friday 18th June, just before the violent "Carnival Against Capitalism", reported that he had seen several protesters covering themselves with fake blood so that they could later complain about "police brutality". (*Times*, 21st June 1999)

National pride

"There were to be no conventional flags. Even the saltire was ruled out because it might strike too nationalistic a note. Instead, the children carried Himalayan prayer flags, produced under guidance of Buddhist monks in Dumfries. The non-sectarian colours of red, yellow and purple had been chosen" - Robert Hardman, reporting on the opening of the Scottish Parliament. (*Daily Telegraph*, 2nd July 1999)

ACTION WANTED

I have previously pointed out that nothing is achieved in politics by sitting in an armchair and moaning about the state of the country. Not everyone can engage in street protests, but there is no excuse for not making regular and frequent complaints to MPs, government departments, the media and its regulatory bodies, the Equal Opportunities Commission, the Commission for Racial Equality and private companies.

These people and organisations are influential but they are not mind readers: if you don't tell them what you think they will never know. And protests can be effective. As you recall, issue 16 of *RN* asked readers to write to British Airways to complain about their decision to replace their Union Flag-based tailfin logo with various weird but not very wonderful examples of 'ethnic art'. These 'world images' were deliberately designed to make BA look less British. Despite the "intense commitment" of BA's chief executive, Bob Ayling, to this new image two years of public protests have forced the airline to do a U-turn and re-introduce the flag theme on the tailfins. Not only that, but Virgin Atlantic have also introduced a distinctive Union Flag design on their aircraft! But victory in this little skirmish should be taken as a morale-booster, not grounds for complacency. Readers – you – should write at least one letter of complaint a week. While on the subject of BA, for instance, why not ask the CRE to investigate their recruitment procedures. According to the Home Secretary 12% of BA's staff are black or Asian: double their proportion in the population. Whereas 'Jackboots' Straw considers this praiseworthy I believe it is *prima facie* evidence of anti-white discrimination.

Freedom of Speech

Another form of activity everyone should engage in is defending freedom of speech. The New Left government/media axis is constantly trying to stifle debate on 'sensitive' issues, with many words and expressions no longer deemed 'politically correct'. This is the *Newspeak* (devised to meet the ideological needs of Ingsoc, or English Socialism) George Orwell predicted in 1984: "The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible... once Newspeak had been adopted once and for all and Oldspeak forgotten, a heretical thought – that is, a thought diverging from the principles of Ingsoc – should be literally unthinkable, at least so far as thought is dependent on words".

Similarly, anything today deemed to be 'sexist' is now Oldspeak. We must fight against this by using every occasion – talking to friends/neighbours, in the pub/shops/workplace – to be as politically incorrect as possible. You could start by pointing out how feminist society has become and how this disadvantages men.

John Bull



"How few men are strong enough to stand against the prevailing currents of opinion ... Be prepared to stand up faithfully for Right and Truth, however the wind may blow".

Winston Churchill

"Being a man is health hazard"

Many people, even on the Right, seem to be unaware of this. The *London Evening Standard* recently had the front page headline "Being a man is health hazard" with the shocking news that the government spends eight times as much on women's health as it does on men's. For instance, the government spend £4.3 million on research into breast cancer (14,000 female deaths a year), but only £37,000 on prostate cancer research (over 10,000 male deaths). Prostate cancer is increasing and scientists predict that in 20 years time one man in four may fall victim – double the risk of a woman getting breast cancer – yet while there is only one charity dedicated to raising awareness of prostate cancer, 150 organisations are linked to breast cancer awareness.

This is all disgraceful but, unfortunately, nothing new. In 1995 the UK Men's Movement (now renamed ManKind) published a booklet called *Discrimination Against Men in the UK* which highlighted many such problems. Even then, £100 million a year was spent screening for breast cancer and £40 million screening for cervical cancer (1,200 deaths). Since then the money spent on cervical screening has increased to £130 million a year, but there is still no screening programme for prostate cancer.

Discrimination against men is everywhere, but the worst examples are to be found in 'family law' (*Newspeak* for divorce law) and criminal law. Women almost

always get automatic custody of the children after divorce, even when the father is willing and better able to look after them, and women who flout court contact orders and refuse to allow their children to see their fathers are never penalised. Where is the justice in fathers being forced to pay child maintenance without having any rights over how the money is spent or the child brought up?

The ManKind booklet also presciently stated "Another disturbing trend... is the increasingly lenient view taken by both the CPS and the courts of the culpability of women after the premeditated killing of husbands or male partners on the grounds of alleged previous abuse or violence". It goes on to say "Since the victim cannot be present in court to put his side of the story, any such 'history' is likely to be considerably biased". Only recently a judge said it "would serve no useful purpose" sending a woman to prison even though she was convicted of killing her husband!

But maybe the greatest injustice of all is when it comes to trials for rape and sexual assault. ManKind confirms that "An eminent woman judge, [and Labour supporter – Ed], Baroness Mallalieu QC, asserted in October 1993 that the Crown is afraid to drop sex trials because of the actions of women's pressure groups". Not only does the CPS prosecute even the flimsiest, most ludicrous cases, but the police do not reveal evidence when it proves the man is innocent. In one case recently the defence only discovered by chance a videotape which proved that the man was innocent. The judge stated that if it "had not come to the attention of the defence this young man could have faced up to seven years detention. It is absolutely awful". The judge also revealed that "this is not the first time this has happened".

Not surprisingly, men are increasingly being wrongly convicted of sex offences. The Home Office recently admitted that, last year, in the Court of Appeal alone (figures are not available for the Crown Court) 66 appeals were successful, up from 46 in 1997 and 31 in 1996. How many hundreds more wrongful convictions are not overturned? The records show that the vast majority of rape allegations are false, but whereas the man's name is splashed across the papers and he risks a minimum of 5 years if convicted and possible loss of job and family even if acquitted, the woman remains anonymous and rarely receives any penalty for telling malicious lies.

In one case earlier this year *The Daily Telegraph* reported that police arrested four men and spent 1,000 hours investigating a case before the woman admitted that she had made it all up: "She said she made up an allegation against one man because he was good looking, had a good job but did not want to know her. She was jealous".

(ManKind can be contacted at: Suite 367, 2 Lansdowne Row, London W1X 8HL. Telephone: 0171 413 9176)

LOOK BACK IN ANGER

They thought it would take less than three days; instead it took almost three months. The war in Kosovo should never have happened, was poorly planned, incompetently carried out, ended in farce, is going to cost us billions and has sown the seeds for continued bloodshed and suffering for years to come.

NATO's actions were utterly illegal in international law. Article 2 of the UN Charter prohibits aggression against a sovereign state that has not itself committed aggression against another state. As Kosovo is recognised as an integral part of Yugoslavia NATO's actions were a naked act of unprovoked aggression, and also contrary to both the 1975 Helsinki Accord guaranteeing European frontiers, and the NATO treaty itself, Article 5 of which clearly stipulates that it is a defensive organisation. Furthermore, given that the initial aim of the bombing was to get Milosevic to sign the Rambouillet treaty, this war was also contrary to the 1980 Vienna Convention which forbids the use of force to compel a country to sign a treaty. Milosevic should go to the US courts and sue Clinton for criminal damage.

"Barbarity cannot be allowed to defeat justice" says Blair, but justice without law means vigilante justice, lynch mobs and kangaroo courts. Shorn of any legal justification Tony Blair has invented a new concept: "The Doctrine of International Community". "Globalisation", you see, means that "we cannot turn our backs on the violation of human rights in other countries if we want to be secure". Ah, 'human rights', now we're getting there.

Why is it, you might wonder, that Tony Blair, so eager to compromise with the Argentinian invaders of the Falklands, is now so eager to kill and destroy the Serbs? Because this is a 'progressive' war, a war against 'racism', a 'humanitarian' war, a war where "we are not fighting for territory, but for values". Oh those warm words, don't they make you feel good? No, me neither.

For what we are talking about here are the values of the New Left. There is no international nor even national consensus on these values. Most UN countries, representing most of the world's population, opposed the bombing. Even in the West, support was very patchy. Support was greatest in Britain but this was mainly because the British are a militaristic people who like nothing better than "visiting far off foreign countries, meeting strange new people, and killing them". Let's be frank about this – the British have always loved fighting wars: wherever there's a war you will find British mercenaries. But while any excuse for a good war might be good enough for papers such as *The 'Clobba Slobba' Sun*, it does not make the conflict right.

We are always told that democracies don't start wars, dictators do, but this is no

longer true – 19 democracies ganged up against another democratic country simply because they were offended by the way it was trying to combat separatist guerillas which the West itself recognised as "terrorists". All governments are entitled – indeed they have an obligation – to defend themselves, their nationals and their territorial integrity from terrorists, but the politically correct New Left did not approve of the Serbs' hardline approach. Instead of appeasing or trying to compromise with the KLA the Serbs were actually shooting them. *How shocking!* But what business is it of ours to tell a democratically elected government how to deal with terrorists?

How effective have we been in Northern Ireland with our 'softly, softly' approach? A conflict that has lasted over 30 years and is still unresolved is not a record we could reasonably expect the Serbs to want to copy. If they chose to shell villages occupied by the KLA, what business is this of ours? The Government has tried to justify the war by claiming that "about 2,000 people were killed in Kosovo in the 12 months before air strikes began", yet the NATO bombings killed around 1,000 civilians in less than 3 months!

National interests

We should only go to war, and risk the lives of our countrymen, when clearly defined national interests are at stake. We have no such interests in the Balkans. This was just a blatant attempt to impose a new world order based on socialist values. *The Economist* has confirmed that "some influential American figures want NATO to evolve" into "a global policeman". Like Hitler, Clinton and Blair fabricate excuses to issue ultimatums and declare war on countries, except that they do so in the name of internationalism, rather than national socialism.

While the world's richest and most powerful military alliance was happy to attack a weak and tiny Serbia, and while it was obvious that NATO was bound to win, our politicians showed such cowardice and incompetence that they are unlikely to attack any country either more remote or better armed. Take for instance the absurd fear of putting in ground forces. The idea that the Serbs are a formidable force is laughable: look how easily the Croats kicked them out of Krajina or the difficulty they have had fighting the KLA. A division of British paras would have taken Kosovo in a week. Instead, with an awe-inspiring sense of irony, Clinton sends in Apache helicopters, named after a tribe of red Indians 'ethnically cleansed' by the Americans, but the only people these wonderful killing machines killed were two of their pilots and they were never allowed to see action. Or look at the incompetence of the bombing. We hit hospitals, homes, schools, trains, refugees, embassies, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania. We dropped 20,000 smart bombs; it's just a shame about the dumb pilots and generals. Even by their own, oh-

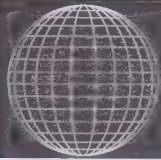
so-humanitarian standards, Clinton and Blair only made things worse. It was the bombing which led to the Serbs evicting the Kosovars, not the other way round. And where were the NATO bombers when 250,000 Serbs were ethnically cleansed from Krajina? What are NATO doing to help the 200,000 Serbs now being kicked out of Kosovo?

***"We hit hospitals, homes,
schools, trains, refugees,
embassies, Hungary,
Bulgaria, and Albania.
We dropped 20,000 smart
bombs; it's just a shame
about the dumb pilots and
generals"***

And who is going to pay to rebuild all the buildings and infrastructure destroyed by the bombing? (Who do you think?) The war has already cost Britain £200-300 million pounds, and refugees from Yugoslavia are costing us £350 million this year *alone*, but that is nothing compared to the estimate of £2.5 billion to rebuild Kosovo alone, and £20 billion for the whole region. Kosovo will now come under KLA control, at least as long as NATO remain to protect them. But NATO cannot remain forever, and the Serbs have long memories.

As for the present, the KLA is made up of several warring factions who are now likely to fight each other for the spoils. The *Sunday Telegraph* reports one intelligence source as saying: "It will be nothing more than anarchy, just a bunch of armed thugs running around" – armed thugs who will be able to continue smuggling guns, drugs and illegal immigrants around Europe. According to Interpol, 12% of all the heroin traffickers arrested throughout Europe are either Albanians or Kosovars, who are also renowned for their violence.

The reason there has traditionally been such a problem in the Balkans is that this area is a multi-racial, multi-cultural crucible, and as everyone knows you cannot put different peoples together in the same country and expect them to live together in harmony. The only solution is to give each people their own country. While it was very sad for the Serbs who were displaced, Slovenia and Croatia are now peaceful, stable, happy countries. So what about the Kosovars? They are constantly described as "ethnic Albanians" (and are also Muslims but this is rarely mentioned in case we question whether they really are 'people like us'). So surely they should be moved to Albania where they will be at home, and the Orthodox Christian Serbs should have their Kosovo homeland back. In fact, the Serbs would probably give the Kosovars part of southern Kosovo, which could be attached to Albania. This is the ideal solution and is bound to happen eventually, so why wait 20 years instead of doing it now? □



Flanders: Frank Vanhecke, MEP, says that the European election results are excellent news for the Vlaams Blok

The Vlaams Blok (VB)⁽¹⁾ believes that all Flemish political parties should begin forming a Flemish government now⁽²⁾, without waiting any longer for the situation in Wallonia to improve⁽³⁾. The Blok was the real victor of the elections, and is now the third largest party in Flanders, with some 15% of the vote. We are prepared to do business with all other Flemish parties, but the essential points of our programme⁽⁴⁾, which have been endorsed by a massive 600,000⁽⁵⁾ voters, must be taken into account in any negotiations. The anti-democratic "cordon sanitaire" being operated by the other parties against the Blok cannot be sustained.

The VB is delighted with the election results for more than one reason. We are pleased with the severe punishment meted out to the government parties at the hands of the Flemish electorate⁽⁶⁾. The Christian Democrats (CVP) and Socialists (SP) are not only being punished for the dioxin scandal, but for many other scandals, like the Dutroux paedophile case and the resignation of Willy Claes over corruption charges, that have arisen over the last four years as a result of their chronic mismanagement.

We are also very pleased at the success of our own 'softer' campaign, and that we have passed the important psychological hurdle of 15% of the vote. We now have more members in the Flemish Chamber of Representatives and Parliament than the Socialists. If a Flemish government were to be formed of a coalition of the CVP, Liberals (VLD) and Regionalists (VU), the VB would then be the largest opposition party. Even in the most rural parts of the country, where the party used to have most difficulties, great strides have been made. In the west of Flanders and in Limburg, we have now become firmly established. We have taken votes not just from the SP but also from the CVP.

Meanwhile, we are quietly pursuing our series of victories in the big Flemish cities. We are pleased to have maintained our position as the biggest party in Antwerp, getting more than 30% of the vote, but in other cities we are also doing very well. We are now also the biggest party in Mechelen and Sint-Niklaas, and we almost became the largest party in Ghent.

We were sad to hear confirmed on the



Frank Vanhecke

evening of the election day that the undemocratic "cordon sanitaire" maintained against the VB will be maintained by all the establishment parties. It is remarkable that even after six VB victories in a row, all the other parties tolerate the dictatorial demands of a few small, extreme-Left parties who say that other parties should not co-operate with the VB in any circumstances. However, it seems that this sinister alliance is beginning to fragment. Within the VLD, various MPs – and these important ones – are speaking out against the embargo. The establishment parties cannot ignore the will of a large segment of the Flemish people much longer.

The VB has doubled its seats in the Brussels regional parliament, from two to four. Ours was the only Flemish party that gained seats in Brussels, while the VU/VLD alliance lost one seat. The Blok's Brussels leader, Johan Demol, got 12,421 first preference votes, more preference votes than all the other Flemish party leaders put together, including government ministers. In Brussels, as in Antwerp, all the establishment parties have combined against the VB, but under the dynamic leadership of Mr Demol, we are determined to keep defending the interests of the indigenous people of Brussels. □

Frank Vanhecke, MEP, is President of the Vlaams Blok

Footnotes

(1) The Vlaams Blok (Flemish Bloc) was founded formally in 1979, with the union of the Flemish National Party and the Flemish People's Party, in reaction to the perceived weakness of the mainstream Flemish party, the Volksunie. The previous year, the two parties had fought a joint campaign and obtained one seat in Parliament and two council seats on Antwerp city council. In 1987, the Flemish wing of the anti-tax party RAD/UDRT also joined the VB. In that year's elections, the Vlaams Blok's share increased to 116,000 votes, translating into two seats in the House of Representatives and one seat in the Senate. In 1988, the party won ten seats on the Antwerp council. In 1989, the party got its first MEP, Karel Dillen, and won a seat on the Brussels regional council. In 1991, the Blok obtained 10.4% of the vote, translating into 18 seats in the House and Senate. In 1994 Frank Vanhecke was also elected to the European Parliament, and the VB won a total of 204 council seats in the local elections. In 1995, the VB obtained 12.3% of the vote in the national elections.

(2) Belgium has a highly devolved federal structure. There is a national House of Representatives with 150 seats and a Senate with 72 members, under the President (whose identity is not known at the time of writing). 25 Senators are elected from each linguistic community, while another ten from each community also sit in their respective linguistic assemblies. The remaining two Senators are members of the Belgian Royal Family. Flanders has its own House of Representatives, called the Flemish Parliament, while Wallonia has both the Council of the French-speaking Community and the Walloon Regional Council. The Flemish Parliament has 124 members and has control over such matters as education, culture and sports, environment, the media and some economic areas. There is also a Brussels regional council, with power over the region's economic policy, and 349 other municipal councils.

(3) Flemish taxpayers subsidise Wallonia to the tune of about £6,000m per year, proportionally more than the old West Germany invests in the former GDR.

(4) The VB's major policies are independence for Flanders, opposition to the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties, an end to immigration, reducing the role of the state and crossborder co-operation on environmental issues.

(5) The population of Belgium is broken down as follows: 5,899,000 Flemish-speakers, 3,321,000 Francophones (Walloons), 70,000 Germanophones and a further 951,000 live in the bilingual Brussels region. (Source: Belgian National Office for Statistics)

(6) In the elections, the ruling Christian Democrats lost nine seats and their Socialist partners seven in the House of Representatives. The VB increased their presence to 15 seats and the Greens to 20. The Thatcherite Liberal Party (VLD) increased its number of seats to 41, giving the Right a majority in the Belgian Parliament for the first time in a century. But because of the establishment parties' refusal so far to co-operate with the VB, they will need to form a necessarily fragile coalition with anti-industry Greens.

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The new book by Ray Honeyford:

The Commission for Racial Equality: British Bureaucracy and the Multiethnic Society

This is the first full-length critique of the CRE, its philosophy and practices. The idea for the book was rejected by 27 UK publishers, and it has had to be published in the United States, although it is available in Britain. Race relations are surrounded by taboos and the imperatives of political correctness, but Honeyford's book is highly politically incorrect, exposing the CRE view of race relations and the fortunes of the ethnic minorities as being seriously flawed. The author aims to encourage an informed debate about the CRE and the reasons for its continued existence. The CRE's powers are outlined and its formal investigations in the fields of education, employment and housing analysed. There is also an examination of the CRE's publicity machine, and its effects on public and educational libraries. The book is timely because its publication coincided with the Home Office's consultation exercise regarding the CRE's request for increased powers.

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Sir,
Despite all the spin which the media are giving us, Blair is far from the 'hero of the hour' in Kosovo. Other national leaders probably view him as a figure of fun, like some cheerleader kicking her legs and showing her knickers on the sidelines, while all the real action in Yugoslavia was done by the USA.

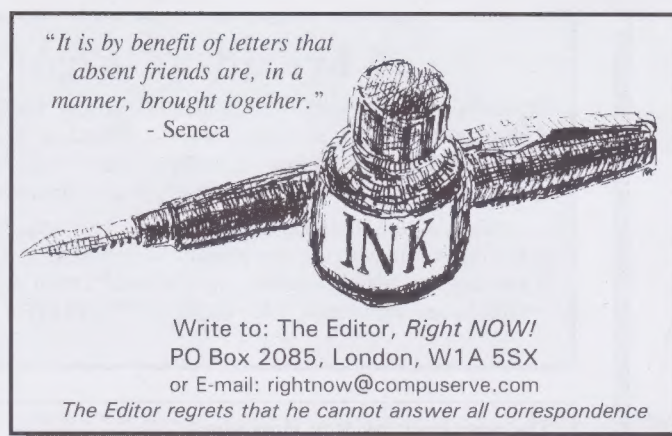
You may gain some idea of the respect with which Blair is viewed from the results of a recent NATO meeting to redistribute European command centres. The end result was that, except for the new Eastern European members who only joined the other month, Britain is the only country (other than Luxembourg!) without a command centre, as our former post at High Wycombe was taken away. As a consolation lollipop for Blair, a Briton was given the job of deputy to the American Supreme Commander – a job so unimportant *The Economist* tells us it has traditionally been known as a "golfing job". To add insult to injury we only get to alternate this post with the Germans anyway!

**Eric Nichols,
Richmond, Surrey**

Sir,
John Bull's "Not so Black and White" in issue 23 reminds me that I recently wrote to the Metropolitan Police pointing out that their proposal to offer university scholarships exclusively to black and Asian students constituted institutional racism against native Britons. The reply I received from a Mr Yacoub of the "Positive Action Team" contained the airy rhetorical phrase "Who are our Native Britons"? So there you have it – there can't possibly be any racial discrimination against them because they don't exist.

**P Cullen,
Lower Froyle, Hampshire**

Sir,
One reads with interest and much concern that rambles are to be allowed the "right to roam" in England and Wales. The sting in the tail of this legislation is that compulsion will be used where agreement



cannot be reached, thus making it a criminal offence for farmers or landowners to continue to block rights of access. How ironic that at a time when townies are to be given the right to roam over *privately-owned* rural land, members of Northern Ireland's Loyal Institutions (Apprentice Boys of Derry, British Commonwealth Royal Black Institution, etc) are being denied the right to walk *public* roads in many parts of Northern Ireland!

**Christopher Luke,
Royal Tunbridge Wells, Kent**

Sir,
The Kosovo conflict has given us a telling indication of the future Britain, her sovereign powers surrendered in the undemocratic amalgam of the EU, and led by idiotic, militaristic governments into foreign wars in which she has no interests to protect. Blair, whose loyalty lies in Brussels and Washington, is taking his place in a new global order typified by "insiders" and "outsiders" – the latter term not only referring to the likes of Saddam Hussein and Miloslevic, but also to the British people themselves, turned effectively into "outsiders" by this government's anti-national approach. Shall we make a start on *our* air-raid shelters now?

**Philip Seddon,
Luton, Bedfordshire**

Sir,
As one who lost his father (killed in action) in 1940, I would like to point out to Bernard Smith that many thousands of people in a similar position feel in their hearts that their loved ones

who were killed fighting for their country did indeed make the "supreme sacrifice". The First World War fallen died, for example, to prevent the Germans capturing the Channel ports and invading our shores. Those who were killed in the Second World War contributed to the destruction of Nazi and Japanese evil.

They died in order that the likes of Bernard Smith might live and enjoy life in a democratic state. The least we can do is to recall their sacrifice on such occasions as Remembrance Day, and on war memorials.

**John Watson,
Horsham, Sussex**

Sir,
I wholeheartedly concur with the view expressed by Bernard Smith in his letter deploring war memorials. This issue can be expatiated by inveighing against the inexhaustible and indiscriminate jingoism employed by all the media whenever the government of our country involves itself in conflicts abroad, virtually none of which concern the safety and defence of our territory or people. Invariably World War 2 is dredged up and comparisons made with Hitler, etc.

It happened during the recent obscene and criminal aggression against Serbia. A British TV presenter is murdered and a flood of unctuous grief fills the media and politicians alike, whereas the murders of countless Serbs who also have loved ones, in TV stations and in their homes, is brushed aside by NATO – New American Tyrannical Order – war

criminals as "regretted".

This is the "foul reality" in Mr Smith's words, wars which the UK and USA governments have recently inflicted against both Iraq and Serbia – and who can tell where else as a new century dawns?

**B Clifton,
Cardiff, Wales**

Sir,
How do you tell an old lady whose husband was lost when his ship went down three days after Pearl Harbour that the war memorial on the sea front at Southsea recording his name really ought to be pulled down because such memorials offend the finer feelings of a certain Mr Smith in Goring-by-Sea? The husband of that old lady was my father's younger brother and we will probably never know what happened to him. The only news we had was that he was seen on the bridge tending the wounded, and covered in blood. My aunt, like so many others, had no grave to visit. She died a few years ago, when in her nineties, and she was pleased to have her darling husband's name recorded on that memorial. What a ridiculous word is that "pleased" but what else can you say?

**Jean Fothergill,
Beckenham, Kent**

Sir,
During the Second World War when serving in North Africa, I was on funeral duty a couple of times. I was bemused to find that it entailed a slow march to a grave in some obscure place, a few words said, the flag retrieved and then a march back to base, with the band playing "Roll Out the Barrel". Two years later, serving aboard a small smoke-screen craft at Normandy, we enquired whether we should take inboard the bodies floating around and we were instructed simply to weigh them so that they went to the bottom. In instances like these, where inaccessibility or having no known grave leaves only names to come back and be inscribed on some town or village obelisk, the least we owe to their memory is not to frivolously lower the dignity of their passing.

**Reginald Cooke,
Swindon, Wiltshire**

Meetings and Activities

Right NOW! readers' meeting with Jared Taylor

London, 27th May 1999

The core of Mr Taylor's thesis, propounded at this large meeting, was that every ethnic group in the world – other than the whites – does everything it can to promote the interests of its own race and tries, through every cultural medium at its disposal, to emphasise its separateness. He gave many examples of how blacks and Hispanics were adept at this practice in the United States. Some of their spokesmen wanted to set up separate black or Hispanic states and often indicated their contempt for ordinary white people. Hispanic groups like the *La Raza* ("The Race") movement and *Aztlán* constantly agitate for the "re-conquering" of California and New Mexico from the hated "Anglos".

Mr Taylor said that this contempt was well-deserved, except insofar as it is the result of ignorance of the facts. A majority of white voters in the United States has, ever since the mid-1960s, tolerated an immigration policy which would lead to their becoming a minority in their own country by the middle years of the 21st century. This act of "racial suicide" was, he said, unprecedented in world history. He cited Japan, where he was born and which he knows well, as an example of a country which has not been so ill-advised as to permit US-style immigration, and so has avoided the creation of foreign enclaves in her big cities.

However, despite her suicidal immigration policies and the worst efforts of white liberals in successive administrations, America is as residentially segregated now as it was in the 1960s. This is even though every major institution in the United States has been promoting the unimportance of race for decades. The policy of forced integration has in fact led to ever-increased segregation and, at times, even racial conflict.

There was a long and lively Q&A session, with Mr Taylor answering many complicated and some eccentric questions comprehensively and with great verve. He was asked if there was a "conspiracy" to deracinate Westerners, to which he replied that there was not, but that the answer lies in our own make-up and cultural inheritance. Our very tolerance and genuine belief in egalitarianism may be partly responsible, he felt, for our weakness. In



Jared Taylor

other replies, he predicted the "Brazilianisation" of the United States (the retreat of hard-working people, most of them white, into protected housing estates away from rising tides of anti-white agitation and general lawlessness) and that the police would continue to be attacked both from above and below.

This was an extremely successful meeting, despite last-minute problems which meant that a few people could not find the new venue.

Allan Robertson

Editor's Note: We apologise to readers inconvenienced by the sudden change of meeting-place. Evidently, political extremists had circulated anonymously beforehand some defamatory drivel calling us "nazis", thus prompting the needlessly nervous Parliamentary authorities to deny us our advertised venue in the Upper House. Naturally we resent this "nazi" insult, especially as our distinguished guest speaker has exposed for condemnation – in *Paved with Good Intentions*, his landmark study of American race relations – examples of anti-Semitic crime. As democrats, who believe in free speech and peaceful assembly

under an impartial rule of law, we would always welcome open discussion from all sides on such important issues as social stability, migration management and demographic differentials, which are legitimate public concerns worldwide.

Derek Turner

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Challenges to weights and measures and Lords reform legislation

Michael Shrimpton QC is a busy man. He is campaigning on two fronts to stop Labour's casual vandalism – against both the forcible introduction of metrification and the gratuitous destruction of the House of Lords. He believes that the 1985 Weights and Measures Act supersedes the 1972 European Communities Act, which latter act is the only authority for the 1994 Regulations that introduced compulsory metrification. (For further information, please contact the British Weights & Measures Association, 45 Montgomery Street, Edinburgh EH7 5JX)

At a recent conference of High Commissioner and Commonwealth representatives in the House of Lords, Mr Shrimpton said that the House of Lords Bill, threatens to turn the Upper House into a chamber appointed by the Prime Minister, Mr Shrimpton, who was commissioned by a group of peers to advise on the legality of the Bill, makes it clear in his 38 page opinion that the Bill cannot be pushed through using the 1911 or 1949 Parliament Acts. As a consequence of this, a legal challenge to the 1949 Parliament Act is to be mounted. (For further information, please contact John Gouriet on 0181 400 5882 or 01984 656256.)

A level crossing in east Kent

Peter Gibbs evokes the world of the 'Titfield Thunderbolt'



East Kent is a little world on its own, a pocket in time. The fast trains from London have not yet really penetrated into the far corner of the county. Ashford (now known as "Ashford International") still acts as a sort of buffer. More often than not, you have to change here if you want to go to Canterbury and all the secret villages and unfashionable seaside resorts on the north Kent coast. (I use the word "unfashionable" here as an accolade. It is, after all, the usual sneering comment one might find in the *Tuscany-loving Observer* or *Guardian Weekend* section.)

East Kent preserves a 1950s atmosphere. Walk along the High Street at Whitstable, for example, and you will find fish and chip shops with nice young waitresses (no self-service here!), the kind of sweet shops that you might remember from your childhood, complete with large jars of toffees or gum drops, and such rare gems as fishmongers and bakers. And as you wander Sturry-wards (Sturry is just outside Canterbury) you will see – in all its glory – a level crossing, complete with signal box.

I remember when the signal box was a common sight on Britain's railways. Now, of course, we no longer have such a thing as "Britain's railways". Indeed, we hardly have such a thing as Britain, but that is a subject for another article. Self-indulgent nostalgia aside, there really was something solid and dependable about the signal box, the semaphore signal, the level-crossing (with proper gates, rather than fluorescent barriers) and the army of railwaymen employed to operate them all.

Down at Sturry, however, the accountants and so-called "modernisers" have not yet accomplished their work of destruction and the railway-using public can still enjoy a civilised travelling experience, knowing that their arrivals and departures are being watched over by a man in a signal box. This certainly gives one a feeling of security and one almost imagines oneself to be in one of those marvellous films from the 1930s or 1940s,

when Charles Hawtrey or Will Hay would suddenly appear from a signal box or stationmaster's office and give you chapter and verse on today's timetable.

Further along the line, near Westbere, there is a small crossing for pedestrians. A rough pathway leads down to the track. Just hop over the stile and you can walk safely across the tracks. This is the line that leads onto the north Kent coast, to Ramsgate – the type of town that inspired those romantic railway artists of the 1930s to create such enduring images of English summer holidays. It was at this crossing at the beginning of autumn last year that I happened to see a special excursion steam train (the *Golden Arrow*, to be precise) thunder majestically past.

The locomotive was like an apparition from another, better age, a steam giant which, at one time, hauled express trains every day. In those days its passengers would have been army or naval officers on leave from their imperial postings, or businessmen engrossed in their private papers relating to coal or steel, or one of those industries upon which the wealth of our nation was once based. The day I saw it, the train must instead have been filled with railway romantics – people desperate to grasp some sense of style and beauty in an age which seems to reject and legislate against every familiar, noble, ceremonial impulse.

So the train steamed by, with pullman carriages and a luggage car in the malachite green livery of the old Southern Railway. (None of the yellow "Connex South-Eastern" daubings here!) As this vision dematerialised, I knew that within a few moments engine and carriages would be close to the Sturry signal box. Anyone who happened to be waiting on Sturry's station platform at that moment would be privileged to enjoy a rare experience – even though just for a few seconds – of leaving the awful present and returning to the tender certainties of a prouder past... □

Peter Gibbs writes from Maidstone

Quality of community life

Quality of life from district to district is often a matter of degrees, not absolutes. The quality of life is often a matter of degrees, not absolutes. The quality of life is often a matter of degrees, not absolutes.

...ation differences in intelligence, temperament, ...er and disposition – explain violent crime – explain sociopathic conduct ...unities.

EXPERIENCE

...rowing up in a small ...eaming a living in ...raising a family in a ...provides first-hand ...ctors that undermine ...unity life. From this ...ences in community ...d norms of conduct ...unity dwellers differ ...township from a ...While neither rural nor ...es are free of “social ...re, frequency and in ...behaviour separates ...a contemporary urban ...motorist that is sud ...a botched carjacking ...stabbed over an Eddie ...ors that spawn higher ...olent crime are more ...as. An overall level ...ns smaller communi ...-like, simply fails to ...ban areas mainly be ...ferences. The threads ...spect which bind the ...community are innate ...with the character of a ...ilised populace.

...nt closing of the last ...et in Ward 8, a high ...ast Washington, DC. ...e *Washington Post*, ...ded to close the store ...ue, which generated ...es of one million dol ...ents accused Safeway ...ate greed. Local news ...y explained why this ...as losing so much in ...store either lacked a ...se, endured gross mis ...tomers all too often ...e stock inventory. By ...ere speculation, local ...d to imply that nefari ...an practical business ...Safeway's decision.⁴ ...hington Post publishes ...ements that feature ...d the region. The Dis ...kly crime roster lists ...f violent incidents – ...assaults, muggings,



Extreme sociopathic conduct has a depressingly long history in urban America.

Above: an armed California National Guard soldier patrols the Watts neighbourhood of Los Angeles after a night of rioting in the August 1965.

But why did violence flare in Watts, when other neighbourhoods, with similar economic problems, remain peaceful and law-abiding?

robberies, and vandalism – revealing a level of predation absent from most suburban and rural townships. Consider the following *Washington Post* assessment of D.C.'s violent crime last year:

“A review of last year's homicides paints a disturbing portrait of the nature of violence in the nation's capital: a 17-year-old boy kills a 16-year-old girl when he grabs a handgun falling out of his pocket and it goes off, two women are sexually assaulted and asphyxiated at the same Mount Vernon Plaza apartment building; a great-grandmother is bludgeoned to death during an apparent robbery.”⁵

It also points out that the “year's youngest homicide victim was 2-month-old Kendra Anderson,” who died of “blunt force trauma” while the oldest victim was 84-year-old Louise Washington, “a landlady who was beaten with a hammer and choked with a telephone cord, allegedly by a tenant she had been planning to evict.” Every morning and evening the capital's major roads are clogged as a result of

commuter traffic paralysis (typically by daybreak four lanes of highway traffic inch along for several miles around the capital's Beltway), primarily because entire residential sections of America's capital remain uninhabitable. Most area residents are willing to tolerate one and two hour commutes

Although some people recognise the obvious tell “bad” neighbourhood, others stand the causality behind community instability. It seems many to visualise the probable or permanent outcomes of fatal changes in community life. In fact that a locked door or the night would have been less than a generation ago in some areas have converted some decades ago was rural crack-infested crime zones.

Nowhere is this more true than in George's County, Maryland, where population demographics are those of the District. It is an increasingly dangerous place to live, not only to Washington, DC, but also to the rate of violent crime than any surrounding counties despite population differences in population character, and temperament the unstable attributes of the populace.

While conservatives like Bennett and James Q. Wilson ask important questions as to the individual moral character of the conduct, few have pursued the context beyond the individual eminent geneticist Cyril

“There is the notion of environment, an environment of genetic character of the system the individual lives... the character and society arises from what men and women do, and from the have in doing it; in other words, character, which in the long run is determined by genetic processes now come to understand that genetic processes are entirely the system of breeding.”⁶

Earlier in this century other prominent scholars like that heredity forged the character of human beings; F. Guyer once summarised that heredity determines what the environment affords the man to do it.⁷ Cultures, nations and communities differ from each other because human beings are different in nature. Despite a century of behavioral genetics, public ignores these underlying factors because the relevance of “social problems” like crime, drug addiction, drug dependency, drug addiction, or other impulsive behavior are the most comfortable questions about human nature.

Ultimately, the test of character is how people behave in different conditions. Harvard anthropologist Hooton once noted that, “the apparently able, through social

rather than subject their families to perilous inner-city conditions a few blocks away from the office.

The “cradle to grave” decadence that Christopher Hitchens recently attributed to the “surreal corruption” of the Marion Barry administration – infant mortality, a TB epidemic, polluted drinking water, and police corruption – persists in the US capital despite decades of social welfare expenditures.⁶ Any of these conditions alone would undermine the quality of community life, yet what compounds the severity of such uninhabitable conditions are intangible human attributes. By pointing to neglect and political corruption, Hitchens fails to see the forest for the trees. When a community is forced to rely upon a defence contractor to produce thug-proof parking meters in order to stop the hemorrhaging of lost city revenue, political corruption and neglect are at best marginal factors.⁷ The comprehensive factor that explains the onset and persistence of these deleterious elements is the proliferation of *dysgenic* population traits.